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THE
WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME XV.

Collected and Revised by DEANE SWIFT, Esq.
of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hæ tibi erunt Artes. VIRGIL.

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C O N T E N T S

O F

V O L U M E XV.

<i>MEMOIRS relating to the Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry, in the Year 1710</i>	Page 1
<i>Preface to The History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne</i>	16
<i>An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry, with relation to their Quar- rels among themselves, and the Design charg- ed upon them of altering the Succession of the Crown</i>	43
<i>The Address of the House of Lords to the Queen [drawn up by Dr. Swift, at the Command of the Lord Treasurer, and deli- vered by the Duke of Grafton]</i>	119
<i>An Anecdote relative to the Peace of Utrecht</i>	121
<i>A Copy of Dr. Swift's Memorial to the Queen [April 15, 1714]</i>	122
<i>Some Considerations upon the Consequences hoped and feared upon the Death of the Queen [written April 9, 1714]</i>	124
<i>A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles, [Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6]</i>	130
<i>An Account of the Court and Empire of Ja- pan</i>	150
VOL. XV.	A 2
	A Let.

<i>A Letter to the Writer of the Occasional Pa- per</i>	164
<i>Of Public Absurdities in England</i>	172
<i>Short Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History</i>	178
<i>An Abstract of the History of England from the Invasion of it by Julius Cæsar, to Wil- liam the Conqueror</i>	181
<i>A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ire- land, upon chusing a new Speaker there</i>	188
<i>Some few Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Test</i>	198
<i>Maxims controlled in Ireland</i>	200
<i>A Passage from Scripture applied to Dr. Swift by a Quaker, at the Time when Three Hun- dred Pounds were bid for taking up the Drapier</i>	210
<i>A Letter from Sir John Browne to Dr. Swift</i>	211
<i>A Letter on Mr. M'Culla's Project about Half-pence; and a new one proposed</i>	217
<i>Doing Good: A Sermon. On the Occasion of Wood's Project</i>	236
<i>A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures</i>	249
<i>A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concern- ing the Weavers</i>	260
<i>Answer to several Letters from unknown Per- sons</i>	271

T H E E D I T O R S

O F

V O L. XV, XVI, XVII,

T O

T H E R E A D E R.

IT may appear somewhat strange to the world, and especially to men of taste and learning, that so many poetical, historical, and other miscellaneous productions of Dr. SWIFT, should have lain dormant such a number of years, after the decease of an Author so universally admired in all nations of the globe, which have any share of politeness. However, not to be over and above particular on this occasion; were it of any consequence to relate by what extraordinary means these several Papers were rescued from the injuries of time and accidents; or, to insist upon some other circumstances, which, at present, we chuse to pass over

VOL. XV.

A 2

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iv *The* EDITORS *to the* READER.

in silence ; it would, perhaps, seem rather more astonishing, that ever indeed they should have had the good fortune to make their appearance at all. It may suffice to observe, That in order to gratify the curiosity of the Public, we shall ascertain these Writings to be genuine ; although to every man of taste and judgment they carry their own marks of authenticity. And therefore, as all the original Manuscripts, not to mention two or three Poems taken from the public prints, are in the doctor's own hand ; or, transcribed by his Amanuensis, have the sanction of his indorsement ; some few copies, for which indeed we have the honour to be obliged to our friends, only excepted ; we shall deposite them in the British Museum, provided the Governors will please to receive them into their collection.

L O N D O N,
March 18, 1765.

T H E

M E M O I R S

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in
the QUEEN'S MINISTRY in the
Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCC XIV.

HAVING continued, for near the space of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament: And this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or no, to have part in the secret of affairs.

VOL. XV.

B

One

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages, which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or from whence more useful instructions may be gathered for directing the conduct
of

of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that, upon occasion, I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power were pleased, in both houses of parliament, to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privy, nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and, at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in *English, French, and Italian*. The period of time I design to treat on, will commence with *September 1710*, from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in *Ireland*.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in

4 MEMOIRS relating to the Change

kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in *Ireland*; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the earl of *Oxford*, the lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, the lady *Masham*, and doctor *Atterbury*, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the earl of *Oxford*, then lord treasurer, and my lady *Masham*, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but, from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures she then took and after pursued, against a load of scandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known, what party was most in the good graces of the successor; and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the duke
of

of *Marlborough*, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had in all appearance so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of with great freedom, both to the earl of *Oxford* and my lady *Masham*, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction, to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My lady *Masham* did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request, which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear upon all occasions as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be.

But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of *Oxford*, did in some sort infect every one who had credit or business in court: For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a

6 MEMOIRS relating to the Change

point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was to write her majesty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death.

This negligence in the queen, the earl of *Oxford*, and my lady *Masham*, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the duchess of *Marlborough* had lost all favour with her, as her majesty hath often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress, while she was princess, which her majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low, as to observe, in her domesticks of either sex, who came in her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining

lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offensive to her majesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.

The earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of *Marlborough* she was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his restless, impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and, very often, upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body.

8 MEMOIRS *relating to the Change*

She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself; she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*; which spread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of *Hertford*, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands.

The

in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY.

The deportment of the duchess of *Marlborough*, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. *Masbam* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince *George's* death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen, his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr. *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Masbam*, signified her pleasure to the duke of *Marlborough*; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person: But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the earl of *Godolphin*, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. *St. John* carried a letter from her majesty to the duke of *Marlborough*, signifying her resolutions to take the staff from the earl of *Godolphin*, and that she expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. *St. John* about it:

But the account Mr. *Harley* and he gave me was, That the duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect towards the church : That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work : That, in the mean-time, the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen to turn Mr. *Harley* (who was then secretary of state) and all his friends out of their employments : That the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr. *Harley's* integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders* ; and, the very night in which Mr. *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill*, the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, that the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the earl of *Godolphin* went out, or Mr. *Harley* and his friends suffered to continue in. The prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the queen ; and, the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment ; and, the next morn-

morning, the duke at his levee said aloud in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, That Mr. *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the prince's death, *November 1708*, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The lord *Sommers* was made president of the council, the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his highness's death, my lord *Sommers*, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by persuading the queen to pass *the Scotch*

act of security. But, to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low-church measures ; and although, in the house of commons, Mr. *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *St. John*, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, That she would take time to consider of it ; and, in the mean-while, the duke advised with the lord *Cowper*, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair ; and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke, and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under

der great obligations to the duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the duke of *Marlborough's* request to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, That her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured, to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. *Masbam*, privately brought to the queen, and, in some meetings,

ings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. *Harley* was able to procure this private access to the queen; the duchess of *Marlborough*, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr. *Harley*, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of *Marlborough* and earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near *Kensington-gate*. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. *Harley*, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced with her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr. *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. *Masbam*, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture,

ture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the duchess of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger; he read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing; he sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kensington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-stairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the councils and actions of some of her servants: That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party; but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the *high-church* or *low-church*. In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or, how far soever he intended to proceed, the

the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which however made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr. *Harley's* advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened by the death of the earl of *Essex*, whereby the lieutenantcy of the *Tower* became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. *Harley*, that the earl *Rivers* should go immediately to the duke of *Marlborough*, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the duke, who said the lieutenancy of the *Tower* was not worth his lordship's acceptance, and desired him to think of something else. The earl still insisted, and the duke still continued to put him off; at length lord *Rivers* desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen, and hoped he might

might tell her majesty, his grace had no objection to him. All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the duke of *Marlborough*, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, the lieutenancy of the *Tower* falling void by the death of the earl of *Essex*, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford*-regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the earl of *Hertford*. The queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the duke] had no objection to him. The duke, much surprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, while the earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket*: His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of *Shrewsbury* as he was capable of. The circumstances of the earl of *Sunderland's* removal, and the reasons alleged, are known enough. His ungovernable

able temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

Mean-time both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the duke of *Shrewsbury* happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility : The earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, " Damn him, he is making fair weather with me ; but, by G—d, " I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the earl of *Godolphin* ; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The treasury was immediately put into commission, with earl *Powlet* at the head ; but Mr. *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The earl of *Wharton* immediately desired

desired and obtained leave to come for *England*, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king *William's* death; when, returning with the earl of *Berkeley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the house of commons, I happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be easy to prove it from history. Soon after I went to *London*; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of, *The Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*. This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in *Ireland*. The
book

book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my lord *Sommers*, and some time upon the bishop of *Salisbury*; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment where-with he was threatened [a].

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received (which was the first I ever printed [b]) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: Upon which my lords *Sommers* and *Halifax*, as well as the bishop above-mentioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness: Not to mention the earl of *Sunderland*, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me

[a] Vide *Swift's* essay upon the life, writings, and character of Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleasant dialogue, between Dr. *Swift* and bishop *Sberidan*, relating to this famous tract.

[b] Meaning the first political piece he had ever printed: otherwise it is not true. For the *Tale of a Tub*, and the *Battle of the Books*, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Doctor *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himself the author of those pieces, imagined he had a right to say, this discourse was the first he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the *Athenian Oracle*, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

since

since the death of the king, and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with lord *Halifax*, and was as often with lord *Sommers*, as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and, I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long conversant with the *greek* and *roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politicks; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confessed myself to be an high-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: That I had likewise observed how the whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but shewed much ill-will and contempt

tempt for the order in general : That I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of protestants to be members of their body : That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side ; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them : And, that I doubted his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my lord *Hallifax* (to whom I have talked in the same manner), can very well remember : And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their lordships, about the time of lord *Godolphin's* removal, did upon occasion call to mind what I had said to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England*, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of prince *George's* death, when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made lord *Sommers* president of the council, and the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London*,
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I received letters from some bishops of *Ireland*, to solicit the earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the earl of *Godolphin*. It was the first time I ever was in company with the earl of *Wharton*; he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his house, and present me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, shewing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of lord *Sommers*, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of *Wharton*, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in *Leicestershire*; went to *Ireland*;

land; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him lord *Sommers's* letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government. I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. *Addison*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken: For instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners*, in a letter to the Countess of Berkeley; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man*; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity*; and, lastly, *A Letter*
in

to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the earl of *Wharton* was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffee-houses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of *August* 1710, I went for *England*, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in *London*, the first-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr. *Harley*, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon shewing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth

mention-

mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland* and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers. *Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat* [c]. He added, That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle to pursue it; and concluded, that it should be his particular care, to establish me here in *England*, and represent me to the queen as a person they could not be without.

[c] These words printed in *Italicks* are in the original erased, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

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I promised to do my endeavours, in that way, for some few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary, that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflexions upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin's* removal, under the title of *The Examiner*. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. secretary *St. John*, since lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr. *Atterbury*, since bishop of *Rocheſter*; and others again by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Freind*, &c. were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my ſtile being ſoon diſcovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr. *Harley's* custom, every *Saturday*, to have four or five of his moſt intimate friends, among thoſe he had taken in upon the great change made at court, to dine at his houſe; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at firſt, conſiſted only of the lord-keeper *Harcourt*,

the earl *Rivers*, the earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. secretary *St. John*, and myself: And here, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t*; the lord *B——y*, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at *Windsor*; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence; and ended only in drinking and general conversation; of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. *Harley*, even before he was lord treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high. The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the duke of *Somerset* and earl of *Cholmondely*, in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr. *Harley* was in earnest; but that he designed to constitute a motly comprehensive administration, which they said the kingdom would never endure. I was
once

once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr. *Harley*, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. *Harley*; however, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topicks among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends, were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to assure me very solemnly, That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, these over-moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the house of commons, which appeared under the name of the *October-club*; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed in the greatest degree what was called the *high-church* principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the house, held their meetings at certain times and

places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict enquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that, if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. *Harley*, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr. secretary *St. John* and Mr. *B——*, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenantcies chang-

ed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. *Harley's* politicks, who was said to avoid an overgreat majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in matter of elections was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared upon some exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. *Harley*, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points; first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work: I shall only observe, that, while he was preparing

paring to open to the house of commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the marquis *de Guiscard*, while he was sitting in the council-chamber at the *Cock-pit*, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with *France*.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that, although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. *Harley's* order, upon the eighth of *March* 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with *France*: Upon his denial, Mr. *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprize of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. *Harley*, and, reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle, which *Guiscard*
still

still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described: The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon; or, that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds; died in a few days after. But Mr. *Harley*, after a long illness and frequent ill-symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of *Namur*. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: As to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his *French* correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, that I wondered to see *Guiscard* pass so often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew
cloudy

cloudy enough, yet I confess I never suspected him to be a man of resolution, or courage, sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the publick affairs, took it's rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. *St. John* affected to say in several companies, that *Guis-card* intended the blow against him ; which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. *St. John* had all the merit, while Mr. *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. *St. John* was either mistaken, or misinformed : However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called *The Examiner*, which Mr. *St. John* perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. *St. John* ; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. *Harley* : Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. *St. John* did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. *Harley's* death ; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr. *Harley*, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several
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of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. *St. John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. *Harley*, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treasurer; and lord keeper, a baron.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Four last Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign.

HAVING written the following History at *Windsor*, in the happy reign of her majesty queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, blessed, and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it, for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; but being under a necessity of going to *Ireland*, to take possession of the Deanry of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my lord treasurer *Oxford*, and the secretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

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I have ever since preserved the original very safely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to

act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality the following History of the four last years of her majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity ; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign ; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this History, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent them by our secretaries of states, or by the first minister the earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient ; not to mention several memorials given me
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by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering 300*l.* to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise [*d*], which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this to shew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addison* and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually repeat-

[*d*] Public Spirit of the Whigs.

ed indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers: And, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not so equally poised; it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first earl of *Clarendon*, whose character, as it now stands, might

might be a pattern for all ministers; although even bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*, where I staid until her majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the style: And, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every

prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interests of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

A N
E N Q U I R Y
Into the BEHAVIOUR of the
QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

With relation to their
QUARRELS among themselves, and the design charged upon them of altering the Succession of the Crown.

J U N E M D C C X V.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations: besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading of, and enquiring after, news not being one of my diversions, having al-

ways disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of business; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most mens opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconciliation between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the earl of *Oxford's* disgrace; to whom the lord *Bolingbroke* immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earl-
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dom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in *Berkshire*, and receiving this account from some of his friends; but all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of *Oxford's* removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: and, I think, there hath not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the dispositions of the court at *Hanover* in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings,

ings, excepting only the attainder of the duke of *Ormond*; which, indeed, neither they, nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those, who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the duke of *Ormond*, who is now attainted for high treason; and, therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of
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a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen, his mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himself to be acting high-treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at *London*, for his sovereign king *William*, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at *Vigo*.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill-nature, without any strain of philosophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflexions in morality, yet, such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may, perhaps, be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to,

should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high-treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the fashion of this world passeth away*. Having already said something of the duke of *Ormond*, I shall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late secretary *Bolingbroke*: descended from the best families in *England*, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did
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for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of *Alciades* and *Petronius*, especially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper was, his prodigious application, whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men, of both parties, have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of *Oxford* is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater

greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities ; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance, that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs-general of the *Veres* and the *Mortimers*, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself, and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good-nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till towards the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends ; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies ; and it was his good-fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so ; at least, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference : neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy

easy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause: his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and, consequently,

sequently, had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at least, as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I the rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of *Sunderland*, and the present lord *Sommers*, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily

ly unlock the breasts of others. But the earl of *Oxford* pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he hath seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his sovereign and he, upon that article: and, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand the art of acquiring, friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his
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mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the cases of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Scipio*, and others; and of sir *Walter Raleigh*, the earls of *Clarendon* and *Stafford*, here in *England*. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, hath made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition,

tion, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates. Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made, by *Hobbes*, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it giveth offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reasonably* and justly, think that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business, out
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of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: and, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues and the public, than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius, and an equal desire of doing good: which hath made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character [*e*], that a small infusion of the *alderman* was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a very trifling instance: that one day observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, that sharpness of the instrument occasioned it's moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digression: about a fortnight after the queen's death, I

[*e*] Lord *Bolingbroke*.

came

came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church-side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other, for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques: and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good-opinion of the court at *Hanover*. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the earl of *Oxford*; that he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: that, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends: that he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers. Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to *Ireland*, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission, the church-interest of that kingdom, in the house of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

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Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the pretender; and mentioned, with pleasure, the glorious opportunity, then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party-distinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the queen's death talked with great freedom in a very different stile: they all directly asserted, that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the pretender, although they would sometimes a little demur upon the earl of *Oxford*; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. That, if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain), *things were not ripe*. That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noon-day to all the world: and the consequences naturally following from these positions were, that the leaders ought to lose their hands, and all their abettors be utterly stript of power and favour.

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature, it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions; and, secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is an History, and the other Memoirs of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light, at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen, some years hence, to read the History I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice: because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have
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the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity: And I knew a certain lord [*f*], not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Catiline*.

However, being firmly resolved, for *very material reasons*, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church-party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that, when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family [*g*], did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that

[*f*] Earl of *Wharton*, [*g*] Duke of *Somerſet*,
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famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation, against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord *Sommers*, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially lord *Sommers* and lord *Cowper*, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. *Harley's* detractors would have it (who was then minister), from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired; she had entertained the notion of

forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from, until half a year before her death: but this neither the house of commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: several country-members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fanatick name of the *October-club*. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that, when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him; his answer was short and cold; That he hoped

hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden. I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, besides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress; who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *advised*. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, I would venture to prophesy, that, however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their side:

then it happened, that the public good and their private interest had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the share of men in power. But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district: so that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives. But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. *Harley* was stabbed by *Guiscard*, the writer of a weekly paper, called *The Examiner* [b], taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, that the *French* assassin confessed, he, at first, intended to have murdered Mr. secretary *St. John*; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the secretary had been thus inform-

[b] See vol. VIII. p. 176.

ed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn ; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair division, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. *St. John*, and left Mr. *Harley* nothing but the danger and the pain : of both which, although he had a sufficient share (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life), yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. *Harley's* friends ; and the rather because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by *Guiscard's* confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition ; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men ; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr. *Harley* should die ; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. *St. John*, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern (and he was but an ill dissembler), That, if Mr. *Harley's* accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss : That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary : That, as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by

which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. *Harley's* confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. *Harley's* recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the duchess of *Marlborough*, it was, after some time, given to another great lady [i], wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may

[i] Duchess of Somerset.

one day see the light, I shall only observe, that, as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, used to divert her majesty from this choice; but she continued steady, and pleaded, that, if she might not have liberty to chuse her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry: and so little was her heart set upon what they call a high-church or tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of *Nottingham* was pleased to prepare and offer a vote, in the house of lords, against any peace, while *Spain* continued in the hands of the *Bourbon* family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by
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a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person [k] in high station among her domestics, who, that day, in her presence, had shewn his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark [l] of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons, very near her majesty, had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen, which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her, that the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of *Spain* should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expe-

[k] Duke of Somerset.

[l] To lead out the queen.

dients might possibly be found for preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was to put her majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside, and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated. Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient, that her own coldness or the treasurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the house of lords. I confess that, in my History of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that, if this were the treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some further views than that of avoiding the consequences of my lord *Nottingham's* vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually

petually turned towards those who, in the party-term, are called whigs, or the low-church ; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage ; and the bishops-bench almost wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men still retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign ; elections seldom succeeding so well, as to leave the court-side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church-party, who seemed to have grown more numerous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And, indeed, upon that foot, things stood for some time : but, a new war being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be, at least, as high principled as could possibly consist with the Protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against *France*, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of *England*, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds,

to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the History above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church ministry, which continued for several years : till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame, (whether justly or no) upon the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties ; her majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. *Harley* into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, *by the basest insinuations* ; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute : although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend ; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in
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the nation out-numbered the other, and especially in the several countries. But, in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, the earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of *England* cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: one of these two things was of necessity to be done; either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the whig-stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: or else, to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of lord *Nottingham's* vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

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But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong; yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) further than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her

for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant, or other instrument, to her already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. secretary *St. John*, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities the following session, in the house of commons; and, the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that

that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family, lately extinct (though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant); and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, that, making him a viscount, would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour. But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the earl of *Oxford*, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And, although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and lady *Masham* then protested to me, yet my lord *Bolingbroke* thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties; *Harcourt*, lord chancellor, the dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, sir *William Windham*, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary;

the rest were either neuters or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting;—which the state of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and must have rendered the earl of *Oxford* inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government: my lord *Bolingbroke* was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity, or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament,
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the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the queen's temper, towards the earl of *Oxford*, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after *Dr. Sacheverel's* trial, my lady *Masham* was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention *Mr. Harley* was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which, I believe, the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My lady *Masham* was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least

mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen, her mistress: talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive, at the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object [m], and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk in the only domestick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: but this her majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at *Windsor*, about *Christmas* 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to

[m] The duchess of Somerset.

have

have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of *Wharton's* house: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the queen's illness, to the treasurer, who was then in town; and, in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot, with a pair of horses, and did not go down to *Windsor* till his usual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face, and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen, these people are out of their wits; and yet, they are so thoughtless, that, as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might, with justice, be applied to himself.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the

women of both parties, who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old *English* principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She, therefore, determined to fall into all just and proper methods, that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor and lord *Bolingbroke*, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and, considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could easily foresee any objections, or difficulties, that the earl of *Oxford* would make. I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general [n], by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other;

[n] The duke of *Ormond*.

and

and by convincing the latter of what advantage such an union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered, under the present powers. Which proceeding, besides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The duke of *Ormond* desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money:

and I cannot but say, that, having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers, as made me think he really intended it: but I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the duke of *Ormond*, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, he knew not why he should do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the duke, my lord *Trevor*, and Mr. secretary *Bromley*, I could not find he had one friend left, of any consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady *Masham*, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the bishop of [o] *Rochester* and some others. *Dartmouth*, then privy-seal, and *Paulet*, lord steward, stood neuters. The duke of *Shrewsbury* hated the treasurer, but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in *Ireland* acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the earl of *Oxford* stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff: which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to

[o] Dr. *Atterbury*.

obtain;

obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done, while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the house of lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church-party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majesty's service, except the duke of *Shrewsbury* and one or two more, were in the same opinion; the queen herself, since her last illness at *Windsor*, had the like dispositions; and, I think, it may appear, from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the earl of *Oxford's* door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents: the chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady *Masbam*, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of

sentiments, after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months ; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done : or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the duke of *Ormond*, for not advancing the money ; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him ; she complained of his silence and fallenness ; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the
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the treasurer and lord *Bolingbroke*, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the lord *Bolingbroke* had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconciliation have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my lord *Trevor* may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. *Prior*, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in *France* at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And, to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom.

freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at *Windsor*, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three bishopricks for some time vacant in *Ireland*; and I had prevailed on the earl of *Oxford*, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to *Ireland* had been delayed: I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at *Windsor*, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion, when his lordship freely told me, that he had been earnest with the queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died: and, two nights after, sitting with him and lord *Bolingbroke*,

Engbroke, in lady *Masbam's* lodgings at *St. James's*, for some hours, I told the treasurer, that, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishopricks in *Ireland*; which since his lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That, before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions: first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and, secondly, whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord *Bolingbroke* answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in *Berkshire*, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my lord treasurer, and, three days after, in her majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material, for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities called by the queen to her service, in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and
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with great satisfaction to the clergy, the lauded interest, and body of the people, running, on a sudden, into such a common beaten court-track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen, who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard, since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice; she had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And, lastly (as I before observed), having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the treasurer, who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state-prudence, that a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power: but I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The
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queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments ; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate towards his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving at the expence of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a *Saturday*, when the ministers and one or two friends of the treasurer constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment, which, besides other advantages, gave that lord the power of chusing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, that this was whipping-day : upon which the secretary *Bolingbroke*, turning to me, said, It was a strange thing that my lord *Oxford* would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame ; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's (who was then also present), the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the queen upon that very point, without effect : whereupon this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, that he had at last prevailed with her majesty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as
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an instance of the earl of *Oxford's* disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and lady *Masbam*; but, likewise, from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common justice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the secretary *Bolingbroke*, as well as of the treasurer, that, having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those, whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAPTER II.

Written about a YEAR after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the pretender: for, upon the earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue: this discovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: but, when that treatise appeared (whoever were the compilers), we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state-pamphlet arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts or a transcript of letters; and, for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in personal treaties between the earl of *Oxford* and the abbé *Gaultier*, which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the *English* ministry: I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the Popish legends together. And to make such an asser-
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tion, in a public Report delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some-time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a *Spanish* romance. I think, it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl were not altogether founded upon the Report, or at least that those important hints about bringing in the pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment ; since this accusation hath no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the earl of *Oxford*, after two years residence in the *Tower*, was at length dismissed without any trial ; yet the reproach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance : whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chusing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the pretender
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during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that, if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe, or suspect, the queen or the ministry to have any favourable regards towards the pretender? They all confessed, for themselves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a person, at present in great employment, said to me, with much frankness, "You set up the Church
" and *Sacheverel* against us, and we set up
" Trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who professed to be non-jurors)

jurors) that discovered the least inclination towards the pretender; and the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six, among which one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of *Buckingham*, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in *England*, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the pretender, and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: but how it hath come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to enquire.

The last point is of the same strain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that, having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word to be let fall in favour of the pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that, if such an affair had
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been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion: because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And, I confess, it is with the expence of some patience that I hear this matter summarily determined by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffee-house; or, at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence further than my own personal credit reacheth, yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to those who will hear reason, that the queen's ministers never had
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it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those, whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low-church party; not only my lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*, but a great majority of the rest: among which I can immediately name the dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Newcastle*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *Peterborow*, *Rivers*, *Strafford*, *Ilay*, and *Orrery*; the lords *Mansel* and *Masham*, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, and the earl of *Dartmouth*, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterwards: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's disposition must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the pretender: she was highly and publickly displeased with my lord *Bolingbroke*, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to *France* upon some difficulties about the peace: her majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment

was

was a little mistaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, as made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches which have been cast on her since her death, upon that account.

Besides, I have already said, that her majesty began those changes at court for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some whose interest it was to obstruct it: That, when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my lord *Cowper* is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my lord *Nottingham's* vote against any peace without *Spain*, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of towards settling the repose of *Europe*. She had, besides, upon the removal of the duchess of

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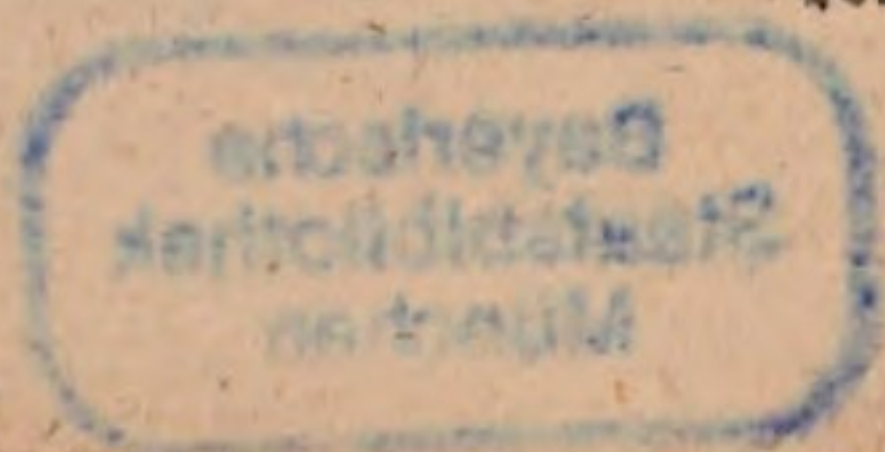
Marl-

Marlborough, chosen another great lady [p] to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together : a lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation : and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently assured me, that, whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and, at the same time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when king *James II.* abdicated : they found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government ; and, consequently, could have no

[p] *Duchess of Somerset.*

scruples



scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of king *James II.* were all either dead or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to professed non-jurors, there was not one man in ten thousand, through *England*, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present, because the same thing hath happened before from the same causes, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, towards the house of *Hanover*, that, during my lord *Oxford's* administration, there was never thrown out the least reflexion against that illustrious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party-writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and

which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath shewn. And, although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of *England*. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with *France* and *Spain* were calculated, in several points, directly against the pretender, as he hath now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial than the politics of those who could be brought to think that the regent of *France* would ever engage in measures against the present king of *England*; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the earl of *Stairs*, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot sufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the duke of *Orleans* is woven and twisted with that of king *George*; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young king
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of *France* to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession hath been broken for his sake; by which means he likewise will be encumbered with a pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under one monarch. And, even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with *England*.

And, as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers, in their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess as her late majesty: the parliament was most unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design which *France* or *Spain* might probably have laid to make a diversion by an invasion upon *Scotland*, with the pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war; and, upon the death of the late

French king, the duke of *Orleans* fell immediately into the strictest measures with *England*; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into *Scotland*, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in *England* towards the house of *Hanover* would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprize. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the *Dutch*, who
were

were guarantees of *that* succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a share in the *Assiento* trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true I appeal to monsieur *de Buys*, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the earl of *Nottingham's* vote against any peace while *Spain* continued in the *Bourbon* family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the *States*, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this further, that, some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amidst all the appearing discontents of the *Dutch*, a gentleman, who had long resided in *Holland*, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me that he had power from the pensioner to treat with the earl of *Oxford*, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from *Holland*, to declare that the *States* were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power. For then their affairs were growing desperate, by the earl of *Oxford's* declination in the queen's favour; both which became so public,

public, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that, I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the *Dutch* politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the late ministry, as an instance of their inclination towards the pretender, that they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of *Hanover*. And, on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness for any further securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to earl *Rivers*, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, lord *Clarendon*, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which hath often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes : and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprizing instances. I have seen an old [q] bedmaker, by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as com-

[q] Mrs. *Foiffon*, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by my lady *Masham*.

mon sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness of a beggarly *Dutchman* [r], who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of *Hanover*, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum to a very inconsiderable *French* [s] vagrant, gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole *British* nation were conveyed.

The second point which I conceive myself able to make out, is this: that, if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun, and prosecuted that design,

[r] *Carew* lord *Hunsden*, born and bred in *Holland*.

[s] *Robitban*, then at *Hanover*, but in the service of some other *German* prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the elector.

as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden. For the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor. And, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity. So that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed towards absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the case.

The other circumstance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophesy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult
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the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church-party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of *Hanover*. And the universal declaration, both among lords and commons, at that time, as well in favour of the elector as against the pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the duke of *Shrewsbury's* opinion, That there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed succession ; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church, and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive. And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article ; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they, by their coming into power, had utterly, and for ever, broken all measures with the opposite party ; and that, in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate ;

cultivate; yet their actions shewed them so far from any view towards the pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to the protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflexion I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use further than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I must

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry, by the house of commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. *Thomas Harley* was sent to the elector of *Hanover* with instructions, to offer his highness any further securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from *Hanover*, signifying, in direct terms, that the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. *Harley* to have been charged with. From what hath since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And, if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain,

where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess (at least) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed how well it was known at court what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place: and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we consider the dispositions of *England*, at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church-party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority, at least, of three in four; because the trouble and ex-
pence

pence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of *England* cannot move a step while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed, at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a house of lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature, at time, could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king *Charles I.* although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the earl of *Oxford*, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender, will, perhaps, be at some difficulty to fix the time when that design was in agitation : for, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed ; because there were certain periods when her majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the house of *Hanover* not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour and management in one or two of their ministers here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence : all which, however, had no other consequences than that of repeated messages of kindness and assurance to the elector. During the last two years of the queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered how she could hold out so long : and then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree, that this design of overthrowing the succession could not be owing to any principle of

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of conscience in those whom they accuse ; for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shewn how the interest of the queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor, and, at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortner of life ; and those in chief trust were generally speaking, older than their mistress : so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an *English* ministry ; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a sett of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to

the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an *accusation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till towards the end of their ministry, and then very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions (as *restiness* is commonly attended with slowness), so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier, her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It hath been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition towards the house of *Hanover*, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in *England*: and, at the same time, it ought to be observed that this objection was raised and spread by the leaders of that party, who
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first opposed the counsel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments against it, the example of queen *Elizabeth*, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she *would* not live with her grave-stone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the *Hanover* Family as the legislature could do it: and the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved? and, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family-dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterwards offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended for the public (but stopped by the

queen's death), that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in *England*; by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of *English* manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm before I offered it: neither were they or their mistresses to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what hath since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon these two points, which I proposed to discourse on; wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions: for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it
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so falls out, that, among contending parties in *England*, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other ; so that, whoever professeth to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours ; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other ; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest ; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope, or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of ; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature : in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are

drawn in, by their own supposed consent to be their own enslavers ; and, where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth ? or, will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations ? For whoever considers the course of the *Roman* empire after *Cæsar's* usurpation, the long continuance of the *Turkish* government, or the destruction of the *Gothic* balance in most kingdoms of *Europe*, will easily see how controlable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari* : because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies ; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws ; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

THE
ADDRESS
OF THE
HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr. SWIFT, at the Command
of the LORD TREASURER, and delivered
by the DUKE of GRAFTON].

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal
subjects, the lords spiritual and tempo-
ral, in parliament assembled, do, with the
greatest joy and satisfaction, return our
humble thanks to your majesty for your most
gracious speech from the throne, and for com-
municating to this house that peace is agreed
on, so honourable to your majesty, and safe
and advantageous to your kingdoms; by
which we hope, with the blessing of God,
that your people will, in a few years, recover
themselves, after so long and expensive a war.
We likewise beg leave to congratulate with
your majesty upon the success of your endea-
vours for a general peace; whereby the tran-
quillity and welfare of *Europe* will be owing
(next to the Divine Providence) to your ma-
jesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had
the least doubt but that your majesty, who
is the greatest ornament and protector of the

120 ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN.

Protestant religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your majesty and the house of *Hanover*. And we do humbly assure your majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent sovereign.

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A N E C D O T E
RELATIVE TO THE
PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr. *Helvetius* was sent from *Paris*, by *Torcy*, to *Devenwordt*, at the *Hague*, with the first proposals for a peace separate with *Holland*; a year after which the preliminaries, at *Gertrudenberg*, were transacted by the Mar. *D'Uxelles* and *Polignac*, and afterwards *Ménager* was privately dispatched to the same effect.

My lord *Strafford* had the first intimation of these separate transactions of *France* and *Holland*, from the duke of *Marlborough* (as a thing a good while before in agitation), and afterwards from *Devenwordt* himself, who told him that he sent to *Paris* for Dr. *Helvetius* to cure him of a rheumatism, which opportunity *Torcy* took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius since confirmed the same story to my lord *Strafford*, in the year 1720.

A
C O P Y
O F

DR. SWIFT'S MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the duke of *Marlborough*, and the proceedings since, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

Upon these reasons, it is necessary, for the honour of the queen and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed to write the History of her majesty's reign; that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

The dean of *St. Patrick's* is ready to undertake this work, humbly desiring her majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer, not from any view of the profit (which is so inconsiderable that it will hardly serve

serve to pay the expence of searching offices), but from an earnest desire to serve his queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of access to those places where papers and records are kept, which will be necessary to any who undertake such an History.

SOME

S O M E
CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE
CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED
FROM THE
DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9, 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the duchess of *Marlborough's* favour began to decline very soon after the queen's accession to the throne, and that the earl of *Godolphin's* held not much above two years longer; although her majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons

not seasonable here to be mentioned (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign), they made large steps that way upon the death of the prince of *Denmark*, taking in several among the warmest leaders of that side, into the chief employments of the state. Mr. *Harley*, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation, and about the same time, sir *Simon Harcourt* and Mr. *St. John*, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. *Harley* (and, in proportion, of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his service with some regret; and, upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used; and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, surmising, from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill-designs were forming against the religion established.

These fears were all confirmed by the trial of *Sacheverel*, which drew the populace, as
one

one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious, that the queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. *Harley*, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: For, the earl of *Godolphin's* coach and his happening to meet near *Kensington*, the earl a few hours after reproached the queen, that she privately admitted Mr. *Harley*, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. *Masham*, was brought up the back-stairs; and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which shewed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* families, and to begin this work, by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of *Essex*, lieutenant of the tower, whose employment was given to the earl *Rivers*, to the great discontent of the duke of *Northumberland*, then colonel of the *Oxford* regiment, to which the earl of *Hartford* was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the duke of *Shrewsbury* in the absence, and without the privity of the earl of *Godolphin*. The earl of *Sunderland's* removal followed, and
lastly,

lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. *Harley* (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reasons to be assured, that, when the queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church-party expected, and have since been so impatient to see. For, although she were a true professor of the religion established, yet the first motives to this alteration did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that or the government; but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some, who she thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And, when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her to go as far
as

as they thought fit. That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party; and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. *Harley*, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low-church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change, and so did almost all the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. *Harley* was made an earl and high treasurer. He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And, as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the queen's

queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that, since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the whig-party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance ; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

A S E R-

A
S E R M O N

UPON THE

MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30,
1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON and LEVI are brethren; instruments
of cruelty are in their habitations.

O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto
their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united;
for in their anger they slew a man,
and in their self-will they digged down a
wall.

Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and
their wrath, for it was cruel. I will di-
vide them in JACOB, and scatter them in
ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath
been often censured for keeping holy this
day of humiliation, in memory of that ex-
cellent king and blessed martyr CHARLES I.
who rather chose to die on a scaffold than be-
tray the religion and liberties of his people,
where-

wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged, that the observation of this day hath served to continue and encrease the animosity and enmity among our country-men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the restoration of the martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, lastly, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first, In the reign of this prince, *Charles* the martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they
are

are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before: and the best princes we ever had carried their power much further than the blessed martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites in the preceding reigns, the succeeding kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies: and, the crownlands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by *Henry VIII.* power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further: upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under queen *Mary*, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at *Geneva*, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by *Calvin*, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by queen *Elizabeth*, those who fled to *Geneva* returned among the rest home to *England*, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching
and

and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state, under that great queen, as well as her successor king *James I.* These people called themselves *Puritans*, as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our dissenters. They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the primitive church, and, at last, even the government of bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves, had continued without interruption, in all Christian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the Papists. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; because, as I have already said, the city of *Geneva*, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These Puritans, about the middle of the martyr's reign, were grown to be a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the lower house of parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of Popery; and, at the same time, the house of commons

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grew

grew so insolent and uneasy to the king, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in such an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his side: for wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly, made against the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity; but it had suffered some corruptions, for which, however, the king was no way answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason; nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious king did, upon the first application, redress all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardships for the future. But that wicked faction in the house of commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more; and, joining with a factious party from *Scotland*, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister; and, at the same time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packt rabble, poisoned with the same doctrines, to pass another

ther law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that parliament without their own consent. Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the house of commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously; sent him every day some unreasonable demand; and, when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both houses, without the king's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in *Ireland* broke out, wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the king to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Meanwhile the *English* parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own sovereign. The rebellion in *England* continued for four or five years: at last the king was forced to fly in disguise to the *Scots*, who sold him to the rebels. And these Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head; which he might have saved,

if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding *Simeon* and *Levi* were brethren; the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the house every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination towards an agreement with the king, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this prince was, in all respects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious parliament had first turned the bishops out of the house of lords; in a few years after, they murdered their king; then immediately abolished the whole house of lords; and so, at last, obtained their wishes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of *Geneva*, without a king, a bishop, or a nobleman; and this they blasphemously called the kingdom of *Christ* and his saints.

This is enough for your information on the first head: I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will shew you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, the *Irish* rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *English* parliament. For the leaders in the *Irish* popish massacre would never

never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the *English* house of commons, which they very well knew must disable the king from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here; and, therefore, we may truly say that the *English* parliament held the king's hands, while the *Irish* papists here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of Atheism among us. For men, observing what numberless villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture: and the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the *English* nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example, of those wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new set created, when the martyr's son was restored, were such who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at least, I mean king *James II.* was seduced to popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late king; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: and God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But, as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt without some change in the foundation; so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sate much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been
more

more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly, Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the destroying or defacing of such vast numbers of God's houses. *In their self-will they digged down a wall.* If a stranger should now travel in *England*, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or Heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, nor antient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use, tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of Puritan-zeal and devotion for Christ; and this was what themselves affected to call a Thorough reformation. In this kingdom, those ravages were not so easily seen; for, the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that, although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people,
without

without permitting this rebellion and murder, yet, as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes, of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes, or wickedness of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves, to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of *England*, except one or two, advised the king, that he might legally raise money upon the subjects for building of ships, without consent of parliament; which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to the rage of a faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposite it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb, in season, all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked Puritans began, in queen
Elizabeth's

Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with surplises and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance; and, at last, they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament; then they abolished the whole order; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves; and, like *Jeroboam*, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their king, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a *Babel* they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty several sorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrificed. And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* divided in *Jacob* and scattered in *Israel*.

Thirdly, Although the successors of those Puritans, I mean our present Dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce, in a public manner, those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found, by experience,

perience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their king, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion and murder of the king, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of *Christ* and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature: although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God, we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a
lie,

lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please, but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will); he ought to be fully satisfied, and give no offence, by writing or discourse, to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those antient Puritan fanatics: they must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head. In answer to that objection of keeping up animosity and hatred

tried between Protestants, by the observation of this day; if there be any sect, or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those Puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and king, to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall, in a body, renounce all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity and the perpetual infamy of the *English* nation.

When we accuse the Papists of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion: but the followers of those who beheaded the martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be justly suspected: neither will the bare name of Protestants set them right. For, surely, *Christ* requires more from us than a profession of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheist may do as well as a Protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers,

preachers, and other sons of *Belial*, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But, before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apostle says, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the same sense that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possession we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles: And so St. Paul concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God: For what? why, for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward, of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects: His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities: His education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest,

terest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man, and, if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But, if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the same allowance to a prince; who must see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the martyr, and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may justly say in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather chuse to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms

arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion, which managed by dextrous men, for sinister ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of king *Charles I.* ; but the late Revolution under the prince of *Orange* was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy prince, king *James II.* did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But, under the blessed martyr, the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow subjects, but even upon their sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights ; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late Revolution, and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable up-

on the present powers, by supposing any relation, or resemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great design of my discourse was to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the subject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it, but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed martyr of this day from his throne to the scaffold.

Between

Between these two extremes, it is easy, from what hath been said, to chuse a middle; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent. In short, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, &c.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C O U R T and E M P I R E of J A P A N.
W R I T T E N I N M D C C X X V I I I .

RE G O G E was the thirty-fourth Emperor of *Japan*, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Christian æra, succeeding to *Nena*, a princess who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-six years before, which made some breaches in the hereditary line; and *Regoge*, successor to *Nena*, although of the royal family, was a distant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the empress *Nena*, were in the highest degree of animosity, each charging the other with a design of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil constitution. The names of these two parties were *Hufiges* and *Yortes*. The latter were those whom *Nena*, the late empress, most favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whose advice she governed.

The

The Hufige faction, enraged at their loss of power, made private applications to *Re-goge* during the life of the empress; which prevailed so far, that, upon her death, the new emperor wholly disgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Hufiges in all his affairs. The *Japanese* author highly blames his imperial majesty's proceeding in this affair; because it was allowed, on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating scheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly disgracing the principal and most popular Yortes, some of which had been chiefly instrumental in raising him to the throne. By this mistaken step, he occasioned a rebellion; which, although it were soon quelled by some very surprising turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in such immense charges, that, instead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the most profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vast addition to the old incumbrance.

This prince, before he succeeded to the empire of *Japan*, was king of *Tedsu*, a dominion seated on the continent, to the west-side of *Japan*. *Tedsu* was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he spent some months almost every year, and thither was supposed

to have conveyed great sums of money, saved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon *Tedsu*: of these he purchased a litigated title; and, to support it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his *Japanese* revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the *Japanese* empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which some authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of *Brennus*, who ravaged a great part of *Asia*; and those of them who fixed in *Japan* left behind them that kind of military institution, which the Northern people, in ensuing ages, carried through most parts of *Europe*; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a senate of nobles, with a representative from every centenary of private soldiers; and, in the assent of the majority in these two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legislature consisted.

I need not farther explain a matter so universally known; but return to my subject.

The Hufige faction, by a gross piece of negligence in the Yortes, had so far insinuated themselves and their opinions into the favour of *Regoge* before he came to the empire, that this prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal

mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The emperor died suddenly, in his journey to *Tedsu*; where, according to his usual custom, he was going to pass the summer.

This prince, during his whole reign, continued an absolute stranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of *Japan*; and, passing his whole time among old mistresses, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a minister, upon the condition of being made easy in his personal revenues and the management of parties in the senate. His last minister, who governed in the most arbitrary manner for several years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other person in *Japan*, except his only son, the heir to the empire. The dislike he bore to the former was, because the minister, under pretence that he could not govern the senate without disposing of employments among them, would not suffer his master to oblige one single person, but disposed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the prince his son, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the historian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deserve to be related.

The minister above-mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a senator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the *Yortes*. He had been formerly dis-

graced in the senate, for some frauds in the management of a public trust. He was perfectly skilled, by long practice, in the senatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchasing of votes, from those who could find their accounts better in complying with his measures, than they could probably lose by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He seemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never scrupling openly to lay out vast sums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchasing estates; when it was known, that, upon his first coming into business, upon the death of the empress *Nena*, his fortune was but inconsiderable. He had the most boldness and the least magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a support against an evil day. He had the best among all false appearances of courage, which was a most unlimited assurance, whereby he would swagger the boldest men into a dread of his power; but had not the smallest portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and disgracing every man, who was known to bear the least civility to those he disliked. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one person, upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption; and
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he never gave bribe or pension, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumstance.

A few months before the emperor's death, there was a design concerted between some eminent persons of both parties, whom the desperate state of the empire had united, to accuse the minister at the first meeting of a new-chosen senate, which was then to assemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vast expence he must be at in chusing an assembly proper for his purpose, added to the low state of the treasury, the encreasing number of pensioners, the great discontent of the people, and the personal hatred of the emperor; would, if well laid open in the senate, be of weight enough to sink the minister, when it should appear to his very pensioners and creatures that he could not supply them much longer.

While this scheme was in agitation, an account came of the emperor's death; and the prince his son, with universal joy, mounted the throne of *Japan*.

The new emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual absence, never trusted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held so evenly that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at least not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father pro-

ceeded against them; and therefore, immediately upon his succession, the principal persons of that denomination came, in several bodies, to kiss the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courtesy, and some of them with particular marks of distinction.

The prince, during the reign of his father, having not been trusted with any public charge, employed his leisure in learning the language, the religion, the customs, and disposition of the *Japanese*; wherein he received great information, among others, from *Nomptoc*, master of his finances, and president of the senate, who secretly hatred *Lelow-Aw*, the minister; and likewise from *Ramneh*, a most eminent senator; who, despairing to do any good with the father, had, with great industry, skill, and decency, used his endeavour to instil good principles into the young prince.

Upon the news of the former emperor's death, a grand council was summoned of course, where little passed besides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the successor. But, in some days after, the new emperor, having consulted with those persons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely considered in his own mind the present state of his affairs, as well as the disposition of his people, convoked another assembly of his council; wherein, after some time spent in general business, suitable to the present emergency, he directed *Lelop-Aw* to give him, in as short terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his manage-
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ment in the senate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that minister having delivered, according to his usual manner, with much assurance and little satisfaction, the emperor desired to be fully satisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vast expence of chusing such members into the senate, as would be content to do the public business, were absolutely necessary?

Whether those members, thus chosen in, would cross and impede the necessary course of affairs, unless they were supplied with great sums of money and continued pensions?

Whether the same corruption and perverseness were to be expected from the nobles?

Whether the empire of *Japan* were in so low a condition, that the imperial envoys, at foreign courts, must be forced to purchase alliances, or prevent a war by immense bribes, given to the ministers of all the neighbouring princes?

Why the debts of the empire were so prodigiously advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were universally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire, and to the imperial family now reigning?

Whether those persons, whose revenues consist in lands, do not give surer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more interested in the welfare of the empire, than others whose fortunes consist only in money?

And

And because *Lelop. Aw*, for several years past, had engrossed the whole administration, the emperor signified, that from him alone he expected an answer.

This minister, who had sagacity enough to cultivate an interest in the young prince's family during the late emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emissaries of what was intended at the council, and had sufficient time to frame as plausible an answer as his cause and conduct would allow. However, having desired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner :

“ S I R,

“ Upon this short unexpected warning, to
 “ answer your imperial majesty's queries, I
 “ should be wholly at a loss, in your maje-
 “ sty's august presence, and that of this most
 “ noble assembly, if I were armed with a
 “ weaker defence than my own loyalty and
 “ integrity, and the prosperous success of
 “ my endeavours.

“ It is well known that the death of the
 “ empress *Nena* happened in a most mira-
 “ culous juncture ; and that, if she had lived
 “ two months longer, your illustrious family
 “ would have been deprived of your right,
 “ and we should have seen an usurper upon
 “ your throne, who would have wholly chang-
 “ ed the constitution of this empire, both
 “ civil and sacred ; and, although that em-
 “ press died in a most opportune season, yet

“ the peaceable entrance of your majesty’s
“ father was affected by a continual series of
“ miracles. The truth of this appears by
“ that unnatural rebellion which the Yor-
“ tes raised, without the least provocation,
“ in the first year of the late emperor’s reign,
“ which may be sufficient to convince your
“ majesty, that every soul of that denomi-
“ nation was, is, and will be for ever, a fa-
“ vourer of the pretender, a mortal enemy
“ to your illustrious family, and an intro-
“ ducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon
“ this foundation was built the whole con-
“ duct of our affairs; and, since a great
“ majority of the kingdom was at that time
“ reckoned to favour the Yortes faction, who,
“ in the regular course of elections, must cer-
“ tainly have been chosen members of the senate
“ then to be convoked; it was necessary, by
“ the force of money, to influence elections in
“ such a manner, that your majesty’s father
“ might have a sufficient number to weigh
“ down the scale on his side, and thereby
“ carry on those measures which could only
“ secure him and his family in the possession
“ of the empire. To support this original
“ plan, I came into the service: but the
“ members of the senate, knowing themselves
“ every day more necessary, upon the chusing
“ of a new senate, I found the charges to
“ encrease; and that, after they were chosen,
“ they insisted upon an increase of their pen-
“ sions; because they well knew that the
“ work could not be carried on without
“ them;

“ them : and I was more general in my do-
 “ natives, because I thought it was more for
 “ the honor of the crown, that every vote
 “ should pass without a division ; and that,
 “ when a debate was proposed, it should
 “ immediately be quashed by putting the
 “ question.

“ Sir, The date of the present senate is
 “ expired, and your imperial majesty is now
 “ to convoke a new one ; which, I confess,
 “ will be somewhat more expensive than the
 “ last, because the Yortes, from your favour-
 “ able reception, have begun to re-assume a
 “ spirit whereof the country had some intel-
 “ ligence ; and we know the majority of the
 “ people, without proper management, would
 “ be still in that fatal interest. However, I
 “ dare undertake, with the charge only of
 “ four hundred thousand sprangs [a], to re-
 “ turn as great a majority of senators of the
 “ true stamp, as your majesty can desire. As
 “ to the sums of money paid in foreign courts,
 “ I hope, in some years, to ease the nation
 “ of them, when we and our neighbours
 “ come to a good understanding. However,
 “ I will be bold to say, they are cheaper than
 “ a war, where your majesty is to be a prin-
 “ cipal.

“ The pensions, indeed, to senators and
 “ other persons, must needs increase, from
 “ the restiveness of some, and scrupulous na-
 “ ture of others ; and the new members, who

[a] About a million sterling.

“ are unpractised, must have better encour-
 “ agement. However, I dare undertake to
 “ bring the eventual charge within eight
 “ hundred thousand sprangs. But to make
 “ this easy, there shall be new funds raised,
 “ of which I have several schemes ready,
 “ without taxing bread or flesh, which shall
 “ be referred to more pressing occasions.

“ Your majesty knows it is the laudable
 “ custom of all Eastern princes, to leave the
 “ whole management of affairs, both civil
 “ and military, to their visirs. The appoint-
 “ ments for your family, and private purse,
 “ shall exceed those of your predecessors :
 “ You shall be at no trouble, further than
 “ to appear sometimes in council, and leave
 “ the rest to me : you shall hear no clamour
 “ or complaints : your senate shall, upon oc-
 “ casions, declare you the best of princes, the
 “ father of your country, the arbiter of *Asia*,
 “ the defender of the oppressed, and the de-
 “ light of mankind.

“ Sir, Hear not those who would most
 “ falsely, impiously, and maliciously insinu-
 “ ate, that your government can be carried
 “ on without that wholesome, necessary ex-
 “ pedient, of sharing the public revenue with
 “ your faithful deserving senators. This, I
 “ know, my enemies are pleased to call bri-
 “ bery and corruption. Be it so : but I in-
 “ sist, that, without this bribery and corrup-
 “ tion, the wheels of government will not
 “ turn, or at least will be apt to take fire,
 “ like other wheels, unless they be greased
 “ at

“ at proper times. If an angel from hea-
 “ ven should descend, to govern this empire
 “ upon any other scheme than what our
 “ enemies call corruption, he must return
 “ from whence he came, and leave the work
 “ undone.

“ Sir, It is well known we are a trading
 “ nation, and consequently cannot thrive in
 “ a bargain where nothing is to be gained.
 “ The poor electors, who run from their
 “ shops, or the plough, for the service of
 “ their country, are they not to be consider-
 “ ed for their labour and their loyalty? The
 “ candidates, who, with the hazard of their
 “ persons, the loss of their characters, and
 “ the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to
 “ the senate, in a country where they are
 “ strangers, before the very lords of the soil;
 “ are they not to be rewarded for their zeal
 “ to your majesty’s service, and qualified to
 “ live in your metropolis as becomes the lus-
 “ tre of their stations?

“ Sir, If I have given great numbers of
 “ the most profitable employments among
 “ my own relations and nearest allies, it was
 “ not out of any partiality, but because I
 “ know them best, and can best depend up-
 “ on them. I have been at the pains to
 “ mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler
 “ heads might probably have been found,
 “ but they would not be equally under my
 “ direction. A huntsman, who hath the ab-
 “ solute command of his dogs, will hunt
 “ more

“ more effectually than with a better pack,
“ to whose manner and cry he is a stranger.
“ Sir, Upon the whole, I will appeal to
“ all those who best knew your royal father,
“ whether that blessed monarch had ever one
“ anxious thought for the public, or disap-
“ pointment, or uneasiness, or want of mo-
“ ney for all his occasions, during the time
“ of my administration? And, how happy
“ the people confessed themselves to be un-
“ der such a king, I leave to their own nu-
“ merous addresses; which all politicians
“ will allow to be the most infallible proof
“ how any nation stands affected to their so-
“ vereign.”

Lelop-Aw, having ended his speech and struck his forehead thrice against the table, as the custom is in *Japan*, sat down with great complacency of mind, and much applause of his adherents, as might be observed by their countenances and their whispers. But the emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneasy. After a short pause, his majesty commanded that some other counsellor should deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object against what had been spoken by *Lelop-Aw*.

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L E T T E R
T O T H E
W R I T E R
O F T H E
O C C A S I O N A L P A P E R.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead season of the year, into accounts of domestic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correspondents, should not understand your meaning so literally, as if you intended to reject inserting any other paper, which might probably be useful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced, that this new course you resolve to take will render you more secure than your former laudable practice, of inserting such speculations as were sent you by several well-wishers to the good of the kingdom; however grating such notices might be to some, who

who wanted neither power nor inclination to resent them at your cost. For, since there is a direct law against spreading false news, if you should venture to tell us in one of the Craftsmen that the dey of *Algiers* had got the tooth-ach, or the king of *Bantam* had taken a purge, and the facts should be contradicted in succeeding pacquets; I do not see what plea you could offer to avoid the utmost penalty of the law, because you are not supposed to be very gracious among those who are most able to hurt you.

Besides, as I take your intentions to be sincerely meant for the public service, so your original method of entertaining and instructing us will be more general and more useful in this season of the year, when people are retired to amusements more cool, more innocent, and much more reasonable than those they have left; when their passions are subsided or suspended; when they have no occasions of inflaming themselves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common sense, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leisure, to read and consider the advice or information you shall send them.

Another weighty reason why you should not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is because there is no suspension of arms agreed on between you and your adversaries, who fight with a sort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities,
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that they are never to be worn out, and are best wielded by the weakest hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingsgate. I am far from thinking that these gentlemen, or rather their employers (for the operators themselves are too obscure to be guessed at) should be answered after their own way, although it were possible to drag them out of their obscurity; but I wish you would enquire what real use such a conduct is to the cause they have been so largely paid to defend. The author of the three first Occasional Letters, a person altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reasons he best knows) at some public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In answer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other side are instructed by their superiors, to single out an adversary whose abilities they most have reason to apprehend, and to load himself, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual conversation in *Bridewell*, *Newgate*, and the stews, could furnish them; but, at the same time, so very unluckily, that the most distinguishing parts of their characters strike directly in the face of their benefactor, whose idea presenting itself along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occasioned this desperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of slander to be truth, and applied to the proper person; what

what is to be the consequence? Are our public debts to be the sooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the sooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to ensue; trade to flourish; the *Ostend* company to be demolished; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* left entire in our possession: the balance of *Europe* to be preserved; the malignity of parties to be forever at an end; none but persons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I ask whether any of these effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even supposing he could prove every syllable of it to be true?

At the same time, I am well assured, that the only reason of ascribing those papers to a particular person, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical spy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by those into whose company he insinuates himself; a sort of persons who, although without much love, esteem, or dread of people in present power, yet have too much common prudence to speak their thoughts with freedom before such an intruder; who, therefore, imposes grossly upon his masters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous mistake in a great minister to neglect or despise, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wisest persons in my time observe, that an administration was to be known and
judged

judged by the talents of those who appeared their advocates in print. This I must never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiously unfortunate, that, among the answerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyrists, started up in defence of present persons and proceedings, there hath not yet arisen one whose labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of constant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of slander, to range over and riot in as they please.

On the other side, a turbulent writer of Occasional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himself, is able to disconcert, teaze, and sour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the strength of genius and truth; and after so dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the soul, and well know the reasons why we are so, we are ashamed to own the first, and cannot tell how to express the other. In a word, it seems to me that all the writers are on one side, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to assert, that it is impossible for an ill minister to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable consideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of such writers rebel against their hearts; their genius forsakes

forfakes them, when they would offer to prostitute it to the service of injustice, corruption, party-rage, and false representations of things and persons.

And this is the best argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late so very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good husbandry, in those exorbitant payments of twenty and sixty guineas at a time for a scurvy pamphlet; since the sort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happiness of a very bad education, hath kept the vilest company, is endowed with a servile spirit, is master of an empty purse, and a heart full of malice.

But, to speak the truth in soberness; it should seem a little hard, since the old Whiggish principle hath been recalled of standing up for the liberty of the press, to a degree that no man, for several years past, durst venture out a thought which did not square to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I say, it is a little hard that the vilest mercenaries should be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for discharging their brutalities against men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it should happen that these profligates have attacked an innocent person, I ask what satisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the most corrupt rapacious ministers, in the longest

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course

course of unlimited power, would be sufficient to atone for the hundredth part of such an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a situation sufficient in all conscience to satisfy a reasonable ambition, for a private person to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleases, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the dust. In such an exaltation, why should he be at the trouble to make use of fools to sound his praises (because I always thought the lion was hard set, when he chose the ass for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrel, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all those advantages, I cannot see why persons, in the height of power, should be under the least concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of use; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only possession their enemies have left them. Supposing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer displays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worse than sending customers to the shop? Here only, at the sign of the *Brazen Head*, are to be sold places and pensions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of mistaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unnecessary to give the character of a great minister in the fulness of his power, because
it

it is a thing that naturally does itself, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his personal qualities are all derived into the most minute parts of his administration. If this be just, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for present exigencies, and provident of the future; such is the director himself in his private capacity: if it be rapacious, insolent, partial, palliating long and deep diseases of the public with empirical remedies, false, disguised, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you shall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to answer in every point, nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their consequences by the community: as the thief-catcher, upon viewing a house broke open, could immediately distinguish, from the manner of the workmanship, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim against which an exception is not ready to start up: So, in the present case, where the minister grows enormously rich, the public is proportionably poor; as in a private family, the steward always thrives the fastest, when his lord is running out.

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OF
PUBLIC ABSURDITIES
IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of satire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of ministers of state, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obscure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a dish of coffee, shall presume to censure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form schemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this usually ridiculed as a pragmatical disposition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may possibly be true: And yet I am grossly deceived if any sober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, customs, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reason be tempted, according to the present turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were sanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the mistake of wise and good men, that they expect more reason and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any sort capable of. Whoever hath been present at councils or assemblies of any sort, if he be a man of
com-

common prudence, cannot but have observed such results and opinions to have frequently passed a majority, as he would be ashamed to advance in private conversation. I say nothing of cruelty, oppression, injustice, and the like, because these are fairly to be accounted for in all assemblies, as best gratifying the passions and interests of leaders ; which is a point of such high consideration, that all others must give place to it. But I would be understood here to speak only of opinions ridiculous, foolish, and absurd ; with conclusions and actions suitable to them, at the same time, when the most reasonable propositions are often unanimously rejected.

And, as all assemblies of men are liable to this accusation, so likewise there are natural absurdities from which the wisest states are not exempt, which proceed less from the nature of their climate than that of their government ; the *Gauls*, the *Britons*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient history.

By these and the like reflexions, I have been often led to consider some public absurdities in our own country, most of which are, in my opinion, directly against the rules of right reason, and are attended with great inconveniences to the state. I shall mention such of them as come into memory, without observing any method ; and I shall give my reason why I take them to be absurd in their nature, and pernicious in their consequence.

It is absurd that any person, who professeth a different form of worship from that which is national, should be trusted with a vote for electing members in the house of commons. Because every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality ; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmost to bring in a representative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion established ; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A standing army in *England*, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct absurdity. For it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation, otherwise than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either assist by sea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in *England* can be of no use, except to awe senates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of senators should be of any charge to the candidates, is an absurdity ; but, that it should be so to a ministry, is a manifest acknowledgement of the worst designs. If a ministry intended the service of their prince and country, or well understood wherein their own security best consisted (as it is impossible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original institution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince or tolerable ministry)

stry) they would use the strongest methods to leave the people to their own free choice: the members would then consist of persons who had best estates in the neighbourhood or county, or at least never of strangers. And surely this is at least full as requisite a circumstance to a legislator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if possible, *ex vicinio*; since such persons must be supposed the best judges of the wants and desires of their several boroughs and counties. To chuse a representative for *Berwick*, whose estate is at *Land's End*, would have been thought in former times a very great solecism; how much more as it is at present, where so many persons are returned for boroughs, who do not possess a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old constitution, whoever possessed a free-hold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty shillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the shire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the course of time, and partly by corruption. Forty shillings in those ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of sagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate sum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or pasture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly absurd, and against the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is still worse: for any gentleman can, upon occasion, make as many free-

freeholders as his estate or settlement will allow, by making leases for life of land at a rack rent of forty shillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year, when his rent is paid, shall be held a legal voter for a person to represent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practised upon this occasion.

It is likewise absurd, that boroughs decayed are not absolutely extinguished, because the returned members do in reality represent nobody at all; and that several large towns are not represented, though full of industrious townsmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of senators, to have themselves and servants exempted from law-suits and arrests, is manifestly absurd. The proceedings at law are already so scandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing, to pay his just debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the decision of the law, is surely but ill-qualified to be a legislator. A criminal, with as good reason, might sit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honesty. By the annual sitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and subsequent, a senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common justice.

That the sacred person of a senator's footman shall be free from arrest, although he

he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on score, is a circumstance of equal wisdom and justice, to avoid the great evil of his master's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

SHORT
REMARKS
ON

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

THIS author is, in most particulars, the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often *Scotch*, and often such as are used by the meanest people. He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, or fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little *Scotch* parson of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a *Scotch* earl to marry him. His characters are miserably wrought, in many things.

things mistaken, and all of them detracting, except of those who were friends to the presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false ; for the first book that I believe he ever published is an entire treatise in favour of passive obedience and absolute power ; so that his reflexions on the clergy, for asserting and then changing those principles, come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality ; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart ; I am sure more than I ever expected from him ; particularly in his accounts of the Papist and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called *A History of Scotland during the author's time, with some digressions relating to England*, rather than deserve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in is, in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution ; which, however, is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good-nature, and very communicative ; but, in his
last

last years, was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw popery under every bush. He hath told me many passages not mentioned in this History, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential point, that the person was tender to dissenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and some other words and phrases, he uses many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All these phrases, used by the vulgar, shew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

A N
A B S T R A C T
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y of E N G L A N D,

From the Invasion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR
to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

TH E most antient account we have of *Britain* is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the *Britons* were painted with a sky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the *Jews*.

Their priests were called Druids : these lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The *Britons* had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society, and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before *Christ*, *Julius Cæsar*, the first *Roman* emperor, having conquered *Gaul* or *France*, invaded *Britain*, rather to

increase his glory than conquests ; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of *Britain* by the *Romans* (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor *Claudius* ; but it was not wholly subdued till that of *Nero*. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from *Rome*, as *Ireland* is now by deputies from *England* ; and continued thus under the *Romans* for about 460 years ; till, that empire being invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Romans* were forced not only to recal their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the *Britons*, for their assistance against those Barbarians.

The *Roman* conquests in this island reached no further Northward than to that part of *Scotland* where *Stirling* and *Glasgow* are seated : the region beyond was held not worth the conquering : It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians* and *Picts* ; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the *British* borders. Therefore the emperor *Severus* built a wall, from *Stirling* to *Glasgow*, to prevent the invasions of the *Picts* : It is commonly called *The Picts Wall*.

These *Picts* and *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, encouraged by the departure of the *Romans*, do now cruelly infest and invade the *Britons* by sea and land : the *Britons* chuse *Vortigern* for their king, who was forced to
 A.D. 455. invite the *Saxons* (a fierce Northern people) to assist him against those Barbari-

ans.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. 183

rians. The *Saxons* came over, and beat the *Picts* in several battles ; but, at last, pick quarrels with the *Britons* themselves ; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in *Britain* (by them now called *England*). The seven kingdoms are usually stiled *the Saxon Heptarchy*.

About this time lived king *Arthur* (if the whole story be not a fable) who was so famous for beating the *Saxons* in several battles. A. D. 460.

The *Britons* received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves : so that, when the *Romans* left *Britain*, the *Britons* were generally Christians. But the *Saxons* were Heathens, till pope *Gregory* the Great sent over hither *Austin* the monk, by whom *Ethelbert* king of the *South-Saxons*, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity ; and the whole island soon followed the example. A. D. 600.

After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Egbert*, descended from the *West-Saxon* kings, became sole monarch of *England*. A. D. 800.

The language in *Britain* was *British* (now called *Welsh*) or *Latin* ; but, with the *Saxons*, *English* came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by

them ; and the whole kingdom was called *England* from the *Angles*, who were a branch of the *Saxons*.

As soon as the *Saxons* were settled, the *Danes* began to trouble and invade them, as they (the *Saxons*) had before done the *Britons*.

These *Danes* came out of *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a rough warlike people, little different from the *Saxons*, to whom they were neighbours.

After many invasions from the *Danes*, *Edgar* king of *England* sets forth the first navy. He was entitled king of all *Albion* (an old name of this island), and was the first absolute monarch. He made peace with the *Danes*, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the *English*.

In this prince's time there were five kings in *Wales*, who all did him homage for their country.

These *Danes* began first to make their invasions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of *London*, *Winchester*, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in *England*, fortifying themselves in the Northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the *Saxon* kings. In process of time, they mixed with the *English* (as was said before) and lived under the *Saxon* government : but
Ethelred,

Ethelred, then king of *England*, A. D. 978. growing weary of the *Danish* influence, a conspiracy is formed, and the *Danes* massacred in one day all over *England*.

Four years after, *Sweyn* king of *Denmark*, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades *England*; and, after battles fought and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing *Ethelred* to fly into *Normandy*.

Sweyn dying, his son *Canutus* succeeds in the kingdom; but, *Ethelred* returning with an army, *Canutus* is forced to withdraw to *Denmark* for succour.

Ethelred dies, and his son *Edmond Ironside* succeeds; but, *Canutus* returning with fresh forces from *Denmark*, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. *Edmond* dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by *Canutus*, who now is sole king of *England*.

Hardicanute, the last *Danish* king, dying without issue, *Edward*, son of *Ethelred*, is chosen king. For his great holiness, he was surnamed the Confessor, and sainted after his death. He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the *English* gentry, of using the *French* tongue and fashions, in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in *Normandy*.

The *Danish* government in *England* lasted but twenty-six years, under the three kings.

Edward the Confessor married the daughter of earl *Godwin*, an *English* nobleman of great power, but of *Danish* extraction; but, wanting issue, he appointed *Edgar Atheling*, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, and *Harold*, son of earl *Godwin*, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon *Edward's* death, *Harold* neglected *Edgar Atheling*, and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in *Normandy*, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him. *Edward* dying, *William* duke of *Normandy* sends to *Harold* to claim the crown; but *Harold*, now in possession, resolves to keep it. Upon which duke *William*, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades *England*, lands at *Hastings*, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To *Harold* he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: but *Harold* returned him this answer, that, unless he departed his land, he would make him sensible of his just displeasure. So *Harold* advanced his forces into *Sussex*, within seven miles of his enemy. The *Norman* duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to *Harold*; either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat. To this *Harold* did not agree.

Then

Then the battle joined. The *Normans* had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement *Harold* was killed, and *William* duke of *Normandy* became king of *England*, under the name of *William* the Conqueror. A.D. 1066.

A
L E T T E R
TO A
MEMBER of PARLIAMENT
IN IRELAND,

Upon chusing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may easily believe I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me, since it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I sent you last week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceeding strange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your house, the two following circumstances are of great advantage: first, to have an ill cause; and, secondly, to be a minority. For both these circumstances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them assiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proselytes, and often successful; which is not to be wondered at, when
favour

favour and interest are on the side of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine. They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, sailing against the tide of favour and preferment, they are easily scattered and driven back. In short, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the public, will not go very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last session of parliament, upon occasion of the money-bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it, I mean those of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill past, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt persuading me, or any body else, that one man in ten, of those who changed their language, were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against

the bill, if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themselves, to disoblige the government to no purpose.

Reflecting upon this and forty other passages, in the several Houses of Commons since the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not succeed, with a very competent share of address, and with such assistance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I said at first, that I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me. For, if there had been the least spark of public spirit left, those who wish'd well to their country and its constitution in church and state, should, upon the first news of the late speaker's promotion (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal sooner), have immediately gone together, and consulted about the fittest person to succeed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been so far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reason you give is the worst in the world: That none offer'd themselves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It seems, however, the other party was more resolved, or at least not so modest: for you say, your vote is engaged against your opinion, and several gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the same story of themselves. This, I confess, is of an unusual

unusual strain, and a good many steps below any condescensions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I shall not trouble myself to enquire who is the person for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that side than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the question to any body else. But, in so weighty an affair, and against your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject, lest your compliance, or inadvertency, should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great business of the high-flying whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the test clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of high and low-church, profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the North. Now, I will put the case: If the person to whom you have promised your vote be one of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? can a body, whose mouth and heart must go so contrary ways, ever act with sincerity, or hardly with consistence? Such a

man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the house, which, in so many points of the greatest moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd, as to prefer a man to a bishopric who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person you design to vote into that important post, should not only be a declared enemy of the sacramental test, but should prove to be a solicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indifferent a thing, that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the house and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I should hardly chuse, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message, whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard colonel *Birch* of *Herefordshire* say, that he was a very sorry speaker, whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am sure it is reckoned in *England* the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the house. Sir *Thomas Lyttelton*

Lyttleton thought, that a house of commons with a stinking breath (supposing the speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the smallest part of an able speaker's business, what he performs in the house, at least if he be in with the court, when it is hard to say how many converts may be made in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I easily call to mind a gentleman in that station, in *England*, who, by his own arts and personal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing side in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-causes, but surely the best of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been so nice in matters of much less importance. Yet I have heard some persons of both sides gravely deliver themselves in this manner, Why should we make the choosing a speaker a party-cause? Let us fix upon one who is well versed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe, there are too many who would talk at the same rate, if the question were not only about abolishing the sacramental test, but the sacrament itself.

But, suppose the principles of the most artful speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obstruct any point in parliament, who

who can answer what effects such a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how such a matter serves to raise the spirits and hopes of the dissenters, and their high-flying advocates, what lengths they run, what conclusions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that is encouragement enough to practise the city, against the opinion of a majority, into an address to the queen for repealing the sacramental test; or issue out their orders to the next fanatic parson to furbish up his old sermons, and preach and print new ones directly against episcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new speaker succeeds exactly to their liking, we shall see it soon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, sermon, or address, to the same or perhaps more dangerous purposes.

Supposing the speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a step to a better; since it is in your own gift, will you not chuse to bestow it upon some person whose principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be sure of a worthy man hereafter in a high station, on the bench, or at the bar?

I confess, if it were a thing possible to be compassed, it would seem most reasonable to fill the chair with some person who would be entirely devoted to neither party: but, since there are so few of that character, and those either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot see how

how a majority will answer it to their reputation, to be so ill provided of able persons, that they must have recourse for a leader to their adversaries; a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that succeeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which advised some city in *Greece* to beg a general from their enemies, who, in scorn, sent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; and so much I remember, that his conduct was such, that they soon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily resolved against repealing the sacramental test; yet, at the same time, give the only great employment you have to dispose of to a person who will take that test against stomach (by which word I understand many a man's conscience), who earnestly wisheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmost of his power; so that the first action after you meet, will be a sort of contravention to that test: and will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this subject, I cannot conclude without saying something to a very popular argument against that sacramental test, which may be apt to shake many of those who would otherwise wish well enough to it. They say it was a new hardship put upon the dissenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way necessary, because we had peaceably lived together so long without it. They add some other circumstances

cumstances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the person by whom it was inserted. Surely such people do not consider that the penal laws against dissenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, so that all employments of the state lay as open to them as they did to the best and most legal subjects. And what progress they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full answer to that objection.

I remember, upon the transmission of that bill with the test-clause inserted, the dissenters and their partizans, among other topics, spoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: that the presbyterians were grown very inconsiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new severities. When the act was passed, they presently changed their style, and raised a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of considerable gentry who were laid aside, and could no longer serve their queen and country: which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country-justices, most of them of the lowest size, for estate, quality, or understanding. However, this puts me in mind of a passage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded. That a complaint was made to the king
and

and council of *Sweden*, of a prodigious swarm of *Scots*, who, under the condition of pedlars, infested that kingdom to such a degree, as, if not suddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the state, by joining with any discontented party. Mean while the *Scots*, by their agents, placed a good sum of money to engage the offices of the prime minister in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the council, he was assured they were but a few inconsiderable people, that lived honestly and poorly, and were not of any consequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thousand. The affair was again brought before the council, and great reproaches made to the first minister, for his ill computation; who, presently taking the other handle, said, he had reason to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the king's consideration, whether it were safe to render desperate so great a body of able men, who had little to lose, and whom any hard treatment would only serve to unite into a power capable of disturbing, if not destroying, the peace of the kingdom. And so they were suffered to continue.

SOME FEW
THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either side who have written upon this subject of the test, in making or answering objections, seem to fail by not pressing sufficiently the chief point upon which the controversy turns. The arguments used by those who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the present corruptions of mankind, because the authors treat this subject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli*.

It must be confessed, that, considering how few employments of any consequence fall to the share of those *English* who are born in this kingdom, and those few very dearly purchased, at the expence of conscience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: and, if nothing but profit were in the case, it would hardly cost me one sigh when I should see those few scraps thrown among every species of fanatics, to scuffle for among themselves.

And

And this will infallibly be the case, after repealing the test. For every subdivision of sect will, with equal justice, pretend to have a share; and, as it is usual with sharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I shall not except the Quakers; because, when the passage is once let open for sects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulness of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confess, was first put into my head by one of the shrewdest Quakers in this kingdom [n].

[n] Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr. Swift was the late Mr. Rooke; a man who had a very good taste for wit, had read abundance of history, and was perhaps the most learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the best of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous pastoral in the Quaker-style.

M A X I M S

CONTROLLED

I N I R E L A N D.

The truth of some Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these Maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind who have entered into civil society. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could institute them into a republic, an allowance must be made for those material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legislator forming a system for the government of *Bedlam*, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal, should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be,

be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics, without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This hath been the fate of those small dealers, who are every day publishing their thoughts, either on paper or in their assemblies, for improving the trade of *Ireland*, and referring us to the practice and example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or other nations.

I shall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontrolled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, it is affirmed by wise men, that the dearness of things necessary for life, in a fruitful country, is certain sign of wealth and great commerce; for, when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in *Ireland*, for the following reason. Some years ago, the species of money here did probably amount to six or seven hundred thousand pounds; and I have good cause to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But, by the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch

branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under custom-house officers, the yearly addition of absentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers residing in *England*, the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury, and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence, we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies; at least, if our enemies were of such a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the *British* empire was, most unfortunately for us, and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which, in some sort, it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting *England's* battles.

By slow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a considerable share in employments of church and state; and, while
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the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and cheerfulness, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a spirit of oppression that is not easily removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to encrease after short periods; yet, as soon as the term elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this island then possessed and has since utterly lost, the rents of lands still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance; when the frog, overswelling himself, burst at last.

With the price of land, of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miseries came on fast, with neither trade nor money left, yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or labourer live, at lower expence, for food and cloathing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

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The *second* maxim of those who reason upon trade and government is, to assert, that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of *Holland* and *England*. But, with relation to *Ireland*, this maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alledged, the great plenty of species; and this is obvious. The second is want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether discouraged, there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy at this day to find many of those, whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of *Ireland* in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect, of gentlemens not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, ariseth the high purchase of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For the frugal squires, who live be-

low their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rates of land must naturally encrease; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to *England*, and place it in the funds; which I myself am determined to do, the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It hath likewise been a maxim among politicians, that the great encrease of buildings in the metropolis argues a flourishing state. But this, I confess, hath been controlled from the example of *London*; where, by the long and annual parliamentary sessions, such a number of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and gentlemen living in their antient seats, among their tenants, is almost lost in *England*; is laughed out of doors; in so much that, in the middle of summer, a legal house of lords and commons might be brought in a few hours to *London*, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in *Ireland* is yet somewhat worse: for the absentees of great estates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and shorten their leases, as much as any residing squire; and the few remaining of these latter, having

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some vain hope of employments for themselves or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education (whereof the fruits are so apparent), together with that most wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a seat in their assembly, though at some years purchase of their whole estates: these, and some other motives better let pass, have drawn such concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Dr. *Barebone* at *London*, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money; and, when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story, and are all reduced to beggary. In so much that I know a certain fanatic brewer [o], who is reported

[o] *Leeson*.

to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greatest part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that, if we had the *African* custom or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skillful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary

mortals, whether papists or protestants, to *America*, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to steal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for, on account both of themselves and the public.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to the subject; and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of *Ireland*, this maxim is utterly false; and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly that what I shall say of those lords and squires, doth not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons. For, although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them (my ambition not soaring so high), yet I am too good a witness

witness of the situation they have been in for thirty years past, the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the court: the weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from *England*, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom.

SENT TO
DOCTOR SWIFT,
BY
A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for
taking up the DRAPIER.

x SAM. Chap. xiv. Ver. 45.

“AND the people said unto *Saul*, Shall
“*Jonathan* die, who hath wrought this
“great salvation in Israel? God forbid:
“As the LORD liveth, there shall not one
“hair of his head fall to the ground; for
“he wrought with GOD this day. So the
“people rescued *Jonathan*, that he died
“not.”

A LET-

A
LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE
TO
DOCTOR SWIFT.

Dawson-Street, April 4, 1728.

REVEREND SIR,

BY a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it: the ignorant poor man, who was entrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet, from the nature of the subject, concluded that I could have no interest in concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of *Ireland*. But, though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first; yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generosity will oblige you to conceal but what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall

I shall not presume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original and progress of the parliamentary accusations and votes against me; although, would you do me the honour to enquire, I could easily convince you, from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I shall beg of you is, to suspend your judgment upon it, since all parties allow that, although I had several summons from the committee for *Monday*, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding *Saturday*, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithstanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This, I hope, I may say without injury to Mr. *Bingham*: for sure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the lord chief-justice who takes examinations against him: examinations, that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

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It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from *Ireland* loaded with the severest censures of the house of commons : injured, as I thought, and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself ; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering interest.

I sought, in *England*, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me : my countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is sociable : I was forced to herd with strangers. A prime minister, engaged in the success of a scheme, wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures : my sentiments on the state of our money-matters were industriously sifted through me ; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was served with his majesty's summons : in a hurry I ran out of town, and staid in the country a while ; but, on my return again, found another summons at my lodgings ; and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the *Cockpit*.

It is true my appearance at the *Cockpit*, to those who knew me only by the votes of the house of commons, must have looked like a design of revenge ; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions
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the worst colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the council of *England*, in which his majesty was present, and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament?

But, alas, the consequence! You, Sir, the defender of *Ireland*, were soon engaged against me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an instant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it: the cause which you undertook was dear to me; and, though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, whilst you thought it necessary for the public good so to do: but now the end is served, dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man; instead of expostulating with his enemies and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himself, saying,

ing, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie.*

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country, under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myself was, by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you: but I must say, it was not the sword of *Ajax*, but the armour of *Achilles*, which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin, was the cause of my country; it was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works subsist, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain? It is a hard sentence; and yet, unless the spear of *Achilles*, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, Sir, you must be a man of honour: it is not possible that honour should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristics

characteristics of it are found : I cannot doubt it ; and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of ; and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the house of commons ; but I have laboured however, as I always shall, to serve my country and make myself agreeable to them : and, though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest ; yet I flatter myself that my little Essays may be useful, at least they may be no bad beginning : and you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But, if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to you : And I must say, that I shall reckon it no small degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean-time, I shall beg the favour of you, to keep a secret which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows. I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A L E T-

A
L E T T E R
O N

Mr. M'CULLA's Project about HALF-
PENCE, and a new one proposed.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXIX.

S I R,

YOU desire to know my opinion concern-
ing Mr. *M'Culla's* project, of circulat-
ing notes stamped on copper, that shall pass
for the value of halfpence and pence. I have
some knowledge of the man ; and, about a
month ago, he brought me his book, with a
couple of his halfpenny notes : but I was
then out of order, and he could not be ad-
mitted. Since that time, I called at his house,
where I discoursed the whole affair with him
as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether
a stranger to his character. He talked to
me in the usual style, with a great profes-
sion of zeal for the public-good ; which is
the common cant of all projectors in their
bills, from a first minister of state down to a
corner-cutter. But I stopped him short, as I
would have done a better man ; because it is

too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet, whoever proposeth any scheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel, if it prove likewise very beneficial to himself. It is certain, that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the crown will not please to take that work upon them here as they do in *England*. One thing in Mr. M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold and silver), as well as upon paper. The question is, whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal, nor witnesses to prove it. To supply this, he hath proposed, that the materials upon which his note is written shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His scheme is this :

He gives you a piece of copper for a half-penny or penny, stamp'd with a promissory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you shall return them. Eight and forty of these halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for two shillings ; by which he clearly gains a little more than

than 16 *per cent.* that is to say, two pence in every shilling.

This will certainly arise to a great sum, if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require : enough indeed to make any *Irish* tradesman's fortune ; which, however, I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr. *McCulla* would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord *Dartmouth* and colonel *Moor* were, by their patents, obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. First, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best *English* halfpence made by the crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to support. And, lastly, that, his copper, as is already said, being equal in value and bulk to the *English* halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination, proceeding from spite and envy, might be formed against him.

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for ; nor do I

know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the *English* halfpence and farthings? and, secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good? and, thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand, and give us no more? for I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr. *M'Culla*, as of Mr. *Wood*.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by coinage of any metal: for they subtract, or ought to subtract, no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr. *M'Culla*, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for two shillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper must be six pence, which is 30 *per cent*. The world should be particularly satisfied on this article, before he vends notes: for the discount of 30 *per cent*. is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent*. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 *per cent*. Or, to reckon, I think, a fairer way; whoever buys a pound
of

of Mr. *McCulla's* coin, at two shillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per cent.* But, however, this high discount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection against *McCulla's* proposal; because, if the charge of coinage will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but four pence in a pound, and *McCulla* must lose six pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction, before we can safely take Mr. *McCulla's* copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is, That we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best *English* halfpence.

The second point is, to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is easy by his own scheme: for, as I have said before, he proposes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two shillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: so that, supposing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coin-

ing, as I have already observed, besides 16 *per cent.* when he sells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr. *M'Culla's* promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* discount.

For, subtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which, added to

$$\begin{array}{r} 41 \ 13 \ 4 \\ 5 \ 10 \ 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

will be *per cent.* 47 3 4

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, are less liable to objection than the project of *Wood*, may be granted ; but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr. *M'Culla*, and observed as follows.

First, I weighed Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpenny against an *English* one of King *Charles II.* which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's* a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewise weighed an *Irish Patrick and David* halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's*

McCulla's $12\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* It had a very deep impression, and milled very skillfully round.

I found that even a common *Harp* halfpenny, well preserved, weighed equal to Mr. *McCulla's*. And even some of *Wood's* halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think *Wood's* copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. *McCulla's* project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king *Charles II.* which I weighed against Mr. *McCulla's*, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr. *McCulla*; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper

cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which, I observe, he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.* And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to say the truth, the dearnefs or cheapnefs of the metal do not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at most.

Mr. *M'Culla* must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds; by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king *Charles II.*; he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thousand two hundred pounds: a very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He hath no wardens or masters, or other officers of the mint, to suck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether

Whether this project will succeed in Mr. *M'Culla's* hands (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see) one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, further than the bare interest of their money. And Mr. *M'Culla*, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And, first, I am confident, without any skill but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than 30 *per cent*. Secondly, I believe ten thousand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most *unnecessary distress* for the want of silver; and that, without such a distress, half the sum would suffice.

For I compute and reason thus: the city of *Dublin*, by a gross computation, contains ten thousand families; and I am told by shopkeepers, that, if silver were as plenty as usual, two shillings in copper would be sufficient, in the course of business, for each family; but, in consideration of the want of silver, I would allow five shillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500 *l.*; and

and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced *Harp* halfpence, which are left of lord *Dartmouth's* and *Moor's* patents under king *Charles II.*; and the small *Patrick* and *David* for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom, I would assign the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning *Dublin* to answer one fourth of the kingdom, as *London* is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one third of *England*; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at least are beggars, in all circumstances except that of wandering about for alms, and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thousand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of *Ireland*, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change, cannot be above forty or fifty thousand; which the sum of ten thousand pounds, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply. For, if we give too great a loose to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very strong light, the villany of *Wood*, who proposed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds in

in copper, for the use of *Ireland*; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen shillings, although *Wood* might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the proposal I have made: suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200*l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is deposited as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with seven *per cent.* for their own use: that they should as soon as possible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining two thousand pounds, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of ten thousand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant), and the bulk as large as that of king *Charles II.*

And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out for seven or ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club or company, when they have issued out the first two thousand pounds, go on the second year, if they find a demand, and that their scheme hath answered to their own intention as well as to the satisfaction of the public. And, if they find seven *per cent.* not sufficient, let them subtract eight, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have, in two years, coined ten thousand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint, and dismiss their workmen: unless the real, universal, unsolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves, one of which should be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loss of intrinsic value in the coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain, that, instead of somewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this society desires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas Mr. *M'Culla* charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr. *M'Culla* can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish; the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king *Charles II.* these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public, to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it; and, in that case, they shall beforehand inform the public, shew their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers; and so give over or pursue their scheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the best *English* halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr. *M'Culla.* And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article; only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwise the coiners
of

of those counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in such a society would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom: and all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objection against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any justice, raise the clamour of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the best of it, as Mr. *M'Culla* himself, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight.

fight. Yet I just foresee another inconvenience: that knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while those who are honest and best intentioned may be the instruments of as much mischief to to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man, as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful; which, I doubt, will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honour of serving his country, and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* besides 20*l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a house to work in. I can only say, that, this making in all 300*l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, such as I have already described (if such are to be found), are these:

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal interest

est for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best *English* halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: and do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impression, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered: for it is plain that those bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are so easily distinguished, even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations: and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr.

Mr. *M'Culla* charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. 6960 grains.

A pound Troy weight - - 5760 grains.

Mr. *M'Culla's* copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. *M'Culla's* penny-notes, one with another, weigh — — 524 grains.

By which computation, 2*s.* of his notes, which he sells for 1 lb. weight, will weigh — 6288 grains.

But 1 lb. avoirdupois weighs, as above, — — — — 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr. *M'Culla's* profit, in point of weight.

The old *Patrick* and *David* half-

penny weighs — — — 149 grains.

Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 18

Which is equal to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*

The *English* halfpenny of king

Charles II. weighs — — 167 grains.

M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference 36

Which difference allowed, a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another

Another Computation.

Mr. *M'Culla* allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two shillings.

His coinage he computes at six pence *per* pound weight; therefore, laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.* profit — — 20

The six pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* 10

By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the } —
public loses *per cent.* 60

If Mr. *M'Culla's* coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound.

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus: whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will lose 60 *per cent.*

For interest of their money, *per cent.* 8

For coinage, instead of 10, suppose, at most, *per cent.* 20

For 300*l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and house-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000*l.* — — 3

Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c. *per cent.* 31

Which,

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and, lastly, their paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little steadiness and activity, could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes, after Mr. *McCulla's* manner; but, as I have seen in old *Irish* coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one side, with the year of our Lord, and the *Irish Harp*, on the reverse.

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON.

On the Occasion of WOOD'S PROJECT.

Written in the Year M D C C X X I V.

GALATIANS VI. 10.

*As we have therefore opportunity, let us do
Good unto all men.*

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private good before the private good of any other person whatsoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: but, as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in
persuading

persuading you to ; for the want of self-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. For example, if I can be sure of saving his life, without great danger to my own ; if I can preserve him from being undone without ruining myself, or recover his reputation without blasting mine ; all this I am obliged to do : and, if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself.

But, beside this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extensive nature incumbent on us ; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the common-wealth, under the same government with ourselves ; and this is usually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more strictly obliged than even that of loving ourselves ; because therein ourselves are also contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in antient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all virtues in it : and many great examples of this virtue are left to us on record, scarcely to be believed,

or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times, it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly must in that to come.

Have we not seen men, for the sake of some petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved? Are not these corruptions gotten among the meanest of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to those who are most likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one instance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endless labour; and therefore I shall not attempt it.

But here I would not be misunderstood: by the love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our king, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common sense of the word, without one grain of public-good at his heart. Witness

ness this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty, in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: and, at the same time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things.

First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And *lastly*, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man, who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of very useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through a neighbourhood, when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing, for the ends it was given him, by some means or other: and therefore it hath been observed, in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

But, *secondly*, it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public: and hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians! The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand
es

of the strougeſt cannot ſtop. Thoſe who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exerciſe that power whenever they can. The greateſt blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the diſhoneſty of a few manufacturers; who, by impoſing bad ware at foreign markets, in almoſt the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now ſuffers in the miſt of ſufferings. I ſpeak not here of perſons in high ſtations, who ought to be free from all reflexion, and are ſuppoſed always to intend the welfare of the community: but we now find, by experience, that the meaneſt inſtrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction, and is at this preſent endeavouring to finiſh his work; and hath agents among ourſelves, who are contented to ſee their own country undone, to be ſmall ſharers in that iniquitous gain, which at laſt muſt end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confeſs, it was chiefly the conſideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to diſcourſe to you on this ſubject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your prince and your fellow ſubjects before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from

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the

the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-house, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure ill-designing projector and his followers; it is time for the pastor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how necessary the love of our country, or a public spirit, is in every particular man, since the wicked have so many opportunities of doing public mischief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, considering himself only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loss is equally shared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great sufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the shopkeeper, complain of the hardness and dead-
ness

ness of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great measure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public spirit and firm union among themselves, which are so necessary to the prosperity of every nation.

Another method, by which the meanest wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is false accusation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: neither is it long since no man, whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion, could safely converse beyond his nearest friends, for fear of being sworn against, as a traitor, by those who made a traffic of perjury and subornation; by which the very peace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us: and, indeed, there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method by which the meanest people may do injury to the public, is the spreading of lies and false rumours, thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends: and this

hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn. As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that public spirit, which he hath almost miraculously kindled in us upon this occasion.

Thus we see the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meanest instrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it mischief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breasts, and against which there can be no defence, but a firm resolution in all honest men, to be closely united and active in shewing their love to their country, by preferring the public interest to their present private advantage. If a passenger, in a great storm at sea, should hide his goods that they might not be thrown overboard to lighten the ship, what would be the consequence? The ship is cast away, and he loses his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greediness of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble,
whose

whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like a pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the bras, but were ready, like the *Israelites*, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the *Philistines* treated *Samson* (I mean when he was betrayed by *Dalilah*), first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of bras.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was, to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promised *Abraham* to save *Sodom*, if only ten

righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to *Jonas* for not destroying *Nineveh* was, because there were six score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular persons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is impossible to obtain a pardon, or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: and how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? how shall those, who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? how will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they should no farther succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies

mercies of God : for those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the Gospel.

Lastly, All offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nourish us so, that it is usually called our mother ; and there have been examples of great magistrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly shewn you how terrible a sin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is so highly necessary, when every man's endeavour will be of use. We have hitherto been just able to support ourselves under many hardships ; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious king, as well as to ourselves. Let us therefore preserve that public spirit, which God hath raised in us for our own temporal interest. For, if this wicked project should succeed, which it cannot do
but

but by our own folly; if we sell ourselves for nought, the merchant, the shop-keeper, the artificer, must fly to the desert with their miserable families, there to starve or live upon rapine, or at least exchange their country for one more hospitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to say to you, who are under my care, to warn you against those temporal evils, which may draw the worst of spiritual evils after them; such as heart-burnings, murmurings, discontents, and all manner of wickedness which a desperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am sensible that what I have now said will not go very far, being confined to this assembly; but I hope it may stir up others of my brethren to exhort their several congregations, after a more effectual manner, to shew their love for their country on this important occasion. And this, I am sure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of state.

I pray God protect his most gracious majesty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, suborners, perjurers, false accusers, and oppressors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg, for *Jesus Christ* his sake: To whom, &c.

A P R O.

A
P R O P O S A L
T H A T

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRE-
LAND should appear constantly in
Irish Manufactures.

Written in the Year 1729.

THERE was a treatise written about nine years ago, to persuade the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures [c]. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade, except the ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatise was presented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of *Dublin*, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city grand-jury, but the foreman for the county was one Dr. *Seal*, register to the archbishop of *Dublin*, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his lord. The printer was

[c] See Vol. X. p. 1.

tried

tried before the late Mr. *Whitshed*, that famous lord chief-justice ; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared, upon his salvation, that the author was a *Jacobite*, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midst of this prosecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week ; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The duke of *Grafton*, who was then lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from *England* a *noli prosequi* for the printer. Yet the grand-jury had solemn thanks given them from the secretary of state.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to shew how dangerous it hath been for the best-meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more ; wholly omitting the famous cause of the *Drapier*, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr. *Whitshed*, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago, there was a small paper printed, which was called, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* [*d*], relating to the se-

[*d*] See Vol. X. p. 223.

veral causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to *Ireland*. *Whitshed* was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. *Mist*, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in *London*, for which his press-folks were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet discharged.

This is our case; insomuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected.

But since I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper shall not be discovered (following herein the most prudent practice of the *Drapier*), I will venture to affirm, that the three seasons wherein our corn hath miscarried, did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the present plentiful harvest, although it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us, than it would the rat aforesaid, to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this, The distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

If you demand from whence these distresses have arisen, I desire to ask the following question.
If

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself, how shall that kingdom stand?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in *Ireland*, who is now in the fairest way of getting a collectorship or a cornet's post, to give good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of 200*l.* a year should sink to one hundred, by some accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future œconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a representation of *Ireland's* condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, that shall ever be granted, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours and our kinsmen, our fellow protestants, fellow subjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to starve without running

ning further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000*l.*; which is, at least, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000*l.* more than all the cash.

It seems, there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum (not the principal, for this is allowed impossible). The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it the fault of *Ireland* that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them if we had? Our diseases are visible enough, both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, that my rents are sunk so low that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages, have I any other course left, than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the shhole neighbourhood complains. And I would think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wa-

ges, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt is, by a further duty of forty shillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further, by raising it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of *England*.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in *Ireland* from the example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known, in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial, to keep up their spirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty shillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at least to the home-consumer) will increase equally every new session of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in *England*, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue, than encrease it. And therefore sir *John Stanley*, a commissioner of the customs, in *England*, used to say, that the House of Commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins, or sugar, the revenue, instead of rising, would certainly sink; and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plumb-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty shillings, the *French* will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers, upon the balance, by our trade with *France* for several years past; and, although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here, or in *England*, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of *England*, as in some very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in oeconomy, which passes there without reproach (and chiefly in *London* itself), would amply make up the difference. But the article of *French* wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: and this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men disengaged from employments, who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wisdom of the honourable house of commons: I come now to consider by what methods we
may

may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discoursed any reasonable man upon this subject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities, as much as it was possible; and likewise, either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible, or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances, upon necessary occasions, as shall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr. *Prior*, in his most useful treatise, added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thousand pounds worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thousand pounds more is expended in muslin, holland, cambric, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not easy to be collected from the customhouse book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is easily run; but, considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, must be very great. The tea, rated at seven shillings *per* pound,

comes to near twelve thousand pounds ; but, considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, sempstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat above 7,000*l.* I have seen no account of chocolate, and some other *Indian* or *American* goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000*l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000*l.* The lavishing of all which money is just as prudent and necessary, as to see a man in an embroidered coat begging out of *Newgate*, in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious ; because we have some share in the manufacture ; but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above 40,000*l.* a year : and if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineness of their native linen : Their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak, as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough hearty, unanimous vote, in both houses of parliament, might perhaps answer as well : every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his
favour,

honour, that neither himself, nor any of his family, would, in their dress or furniture of their houses, make use of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom ; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence, and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependants, and friends, to follow their example.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
A R C H B I S H O P o f D U B L I N,
Concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your grace, and called upon me with their schemes and propofals, were with me on *Thursday* laſt; when he who ſpoke for the reſt, and in the name of his abſent brethren, ſaid, it was the opinion of the whole body, that if ſomewhat were written at this time, by an able hand, to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good uſe to the nation in general, and preſerve many hundreds of their trade from ſtarving. To which I answered, that it was hard for any man of common ſpirit to turn his thoughts to ſuch ſpeculations, without diſcovering a reſentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your grace, that I cannot reflect on the ſingular condition of this country,

try, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in *England*, as to the outward shape, but differing, in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a forest; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government. For I solemnly profess, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years, whereof any man, whose opinions were not in fashion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because although a mother, when she hath corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the foot-boy or the scullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider: first, their present evil condition; and, secondly, what can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery: it hath been already done in several papers, and very fully in one entitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland*. It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigor, the remission of a million every year to *England*, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all those evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppression we labour under: but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary, consequently drawn from wrong reasoning, and from general topics, which, for the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am weary of so many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals, in letters sent me from unknown

known hands ; of so many contradictory speculations, about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver : I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to *America*, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim, “ That people are the riches of a nation,” is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he hath no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my lord, whether such a person hath any other course to take, than to sink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to save himself from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the case of *Ireland*, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually sinking us, for above a dozen years past, to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the Revolution. Therefore, instead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families, and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with

strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: and, to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is to despise and detest every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and most to value whatever comes from the very remotest parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuosi could once find out a world in the Moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime cost of wine yearly imported to *Ireland* is valued at 30,000*l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, calicoes, and all other unnecessary ornaments for women, including *English* cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about 400,000*l.*

Now, if we should allow the 30,000*l.* wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000*l.* more for over-reaching, there would still remain 200,000*l.* annually spent, for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery. Which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shop-

shop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief, but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery; and still have room left to vie with each other, and equally shew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of *Irish* stuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholesome fops for breakfast, we should hear no more of the spleen, hysterics, colics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other and their husbands at play, because the money lost would only circulate among ourselves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the fottishness of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of *Irish* stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above eight-pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade, and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that, or any sort of black stuff, on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But, instead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs,

as they had promised, and your grace expected; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, some years ago, propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of silk and wool, that they should meet together; and, after mature consideration, publish advertisements to the following purpose.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of *Irish* manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they, the under signed, would enter into bonds, for themselves and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner, that, if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness, and measure of the ware: and, lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of trade might be admitted, upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And, if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill-used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The

The mortal danger is, that, if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of *Ireland* in favour of their goods; they would relapse into the knavish practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-seller; who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outsells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus I have known at *London*, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black all their old damaged goods, and sell them at double rates; then complain, and petition the court, that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers, who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned, must give sufficient security against all such practices: for, if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shop-keepers shall proceed in such a proposal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reasonably be objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received, by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithstanding all the care of the
4
governors

governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the *Spaniards* for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000*l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the house of commons to grant one very reasonable request; and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpose: Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this house will, for the future, wear no cloths but such as are made of *Irish* growth, or of *Irish* manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: and that they will, to the utmost, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example. And if, at the same time, they could banish tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage, or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, school-boys, splenetic visitors of *Bath*, *Tunbridge*, and *Epsom*, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to *England*,
and

and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been, for a dozen years past, wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common sense, could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die, which hath spent all its spirits, and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to; or to scarcity of silver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

A N S W E R

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two [e] last summer, directed to *Dublin*, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me, and I ordered an answer to it to be printed ; but, it seems, it had little effect, and I suppose this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing : that the world is too regardless of what we write for the public good : that, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world, unless we will be at all, or half the ex-

[e] *Trueman and Layfield.*

pence 1

pence : and, although we are willing enough to bestow our labours, we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket ; because it, probably, may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great measure, your manner of declaring them ; and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments, but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great prelate, in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it to me this morning ; and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer ; because, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person : for, although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print ; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to *America*. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of *Pennsylvania*, to tempt people to go thither ; I do declare that those who were tempted, by such a narrative, to such a journey, were fools, and

and the author a most impudent knave; at least, if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to *William Penn* (whom, by a mistake, you call sir *William Penn*) and styling him, by authority of the scripture, Most noble governor. For I was very well acquainted with *Penn*, and did, some years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which *Penn* himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me, that this country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the Northern winds from *Hudson's Bay* and the *Frozen Sea*, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, *New-York*, *Virginia*, and other parts less Northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries: but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreasing their rent-rolls. *Secondly*, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. *Thirdly*, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in *England*. *Fourthly*, You complain that your linen manufacture declines.

elines. *Fifthly*, That your tythe-collectors oppress you. *Sixthly*, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatsoever. *Seventhly*, You are undone for want of silver, and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives, which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect, and think they deserve, the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I shall chuse to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but observe, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency *Burnet* (*O fili, nec tui indigne parente!*) hath not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a command, to settle a revenue on his vice royal person. I have been likewise assured, that, in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature hath so far favoured, as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the stubbornness of the people, who, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleased, and seem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But,

But, to return to my subject: I must confess to you both, that, if one reason of your people's deserting us be the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer; because that would be to hope for what is impossible; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For there are three events which must precede any such blessing: *first*, A liberty of trade; *secondly*, A share of preferments in all kinds, equal to the *British* natives; and, *thirdly*, A return of those absentees, who take away almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the first and second, there is nothing left us but despair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to send them, for which, in my own particular, I should not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years standing. But, as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side: for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the *Scotch* themselves, in *Ulster*, being as
dirty

dirty and miserable as those of the wildest *Irisb.* Whereas good firm penal clauses for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent and a reasonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreased the rents of *Ireland* at least a third part in the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely mistake the fact : for I defy the most wicked and most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish ; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For, although the *Ulster* tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth ; and, where the corn much exceeds the small tythes, as, except in some districts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people, bent for *America*, do not shew the best side of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint : yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tythes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any protestant dissenter, except a quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think, that,

that, if tythes were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the landlord after the blessed manner in the *Scotch* spiritual œconomy, the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequence, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurements from *America*, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles.

But I am surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For, while I was last year in the Northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was lett above twenty years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives, and some perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned

to pay but half value. From whence it is manifest that our present miserable condition, and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should, by a miracle, become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifestly shew the stupidity and ignorance of the proposer: and I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads who proceed upon general maxims, or advise us to follow the examples of *Holland* and *England*. These empirics talk by rote, without understanding the constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for *Ireland* are very short and plain; to encourage agriculture and home-consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessities, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry? are those detestable extravagancies of *Flanders*-lace, *English*-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, *Italian* or *Indian* silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, *China*-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the
knavery

knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies, better known to others than me; are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons, as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives; who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive; as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon *Indian* poisons, and spend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauseous, unwholesome-living carcass? let those few, who are not concerned in any part of this accusation, suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted.

If I am possessed of an hundred pounds a year, and by some misfortune it sinks to

fifty, without a possibility of ever being retrieved: does it remain a question, in such an exigency, what I am to do? must not I retrench one half in every article of expence? or, retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can shew me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or subsist by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed?

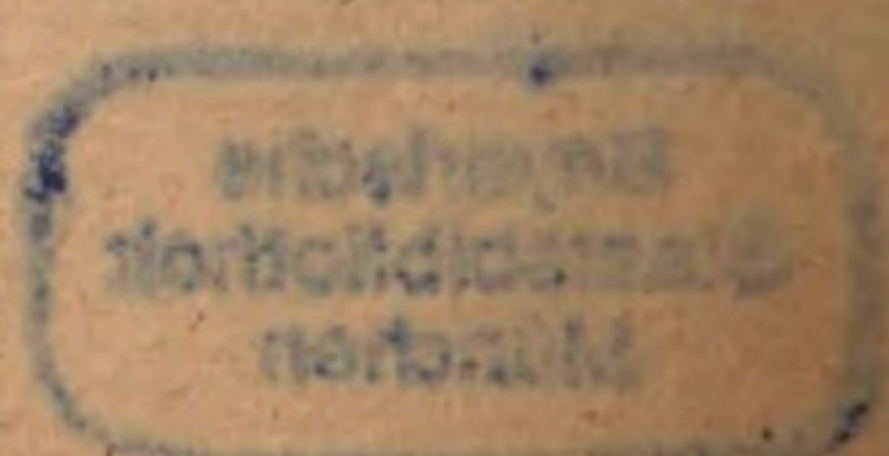
I am tired with letters from many unreasonable well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have so often done in vain. What will it import, that half a score people, in a coffee-house, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few differ in every sentiment from me? if the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn, if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to *Irish* absentees, and the rest for foreign luxury, and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? when, contrary to all custom and example, all necessaries of life are so exorbitant,

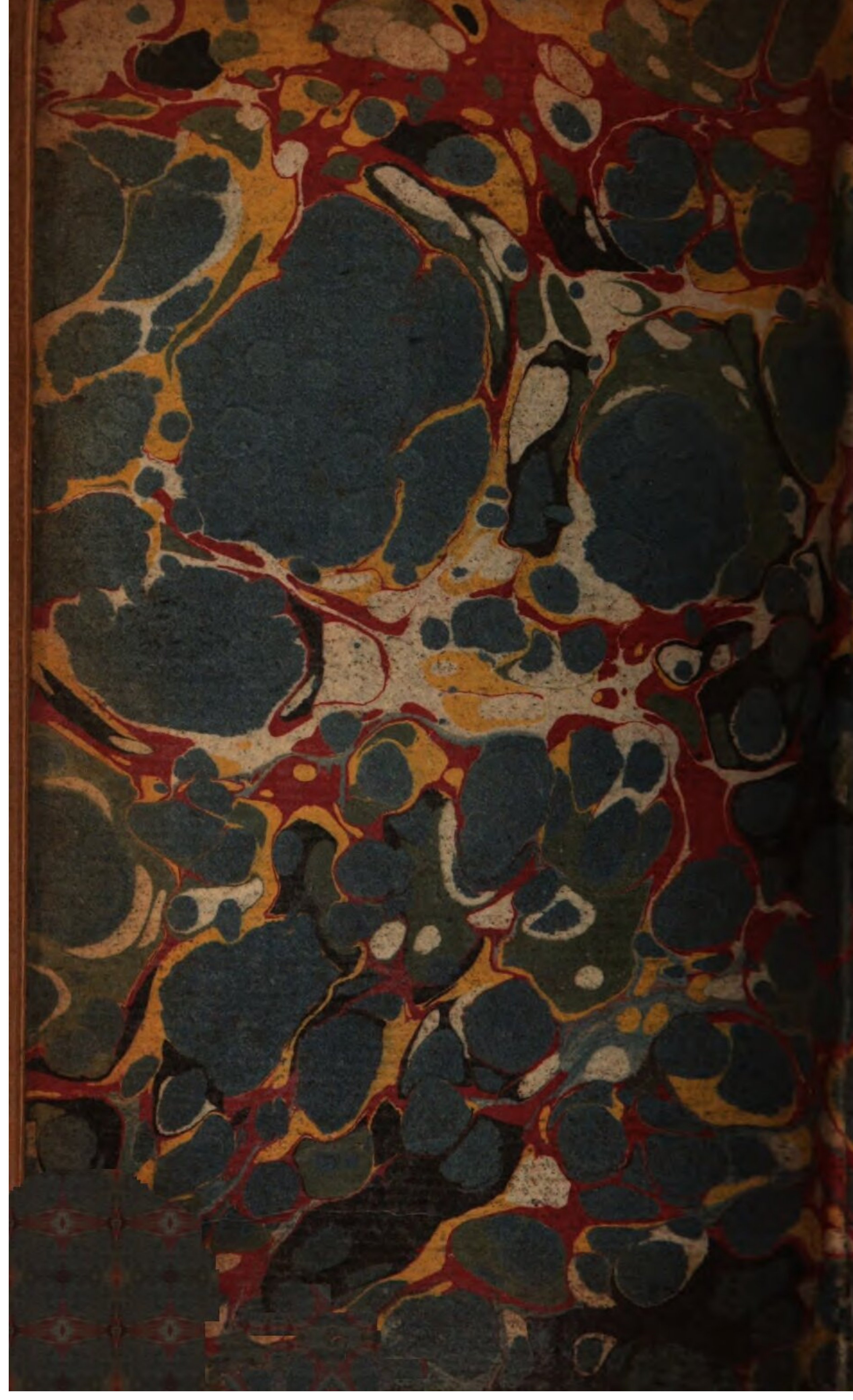
exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce ; so that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to shew any bounty to the poor ?

END of V O L. XV.

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Swift, Jonathan, 1667-1745

The works of Jonathan Swift

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